

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE talk of some of the Democratic organs, when their tongues were loosened after the election, shows how much President Cleveland, with all his faults, as long as he was supposed to be a power, did to keep down the baser element in his party and raise the party aims. One of the most ruffianly of them, which pretended to support him during the canvass, no sooner was assured of his defeat than it poured on him a flood of blackguard personalities which would have disgraced a Sixth Ward pot-house. Others began to ridicule his attempts to reform the civil service or the tariff, and to abuse the Mugwumps for supporting him in his attempts to give the party a creed, or indeed furnish it with a reason for existing—something which before Cleveland's day it was a little difficult to discover. Hill they admire as an ideal politician, and towards him they have the kind of tenderness which mothers have for cripples and idiots. They love him for his defects and his vices.

There are two little amusements in which the more childish orators and editors of the victorious party are now apt to indulge in after a Presidential election. One is abuse of the Mugwumps, and announcements that they will be heard of no more; the other is the "presentation of names" for "Cabinet positions." The first is simply silly, but the last has a touch of pathos about it which makes one unwilling to laugh at it. Nearly every country town has a man of some local note—a lawyer, or judge, or business man who dabbles in politics, or an editor or professor with some reputation for scholarship or for habits of reading or reflection—who has for some reason failed, to the great surprise of his fellow-townsmen, to make his name known outside the district, and to whom political managers pay little or no deference. He is nearly always, too, a modest man, who does not blow his own trumpet, so that the guardianship of his fame is left wholly to his immediate neighbors. Occasions for paying tributes to his worth are, of course, rare; and when his party wins the Presidency, the presentation of his name to the President-elect and to the public for a "Cabinet position" becomes a sort of sacred duty. It is discharged sometimes simply by an article or letter in the local paper, showing what a master stroke of policy it would be to put our distinguished fellow-townsmen at the head of the State Department or the Treasury; more rarely by the despatch of a delegation to see the new President in person, and "urge his claims." Probably nobody who takes part in this touching ceremony has the smallest expectation of seeing the enterprise succeed. Everybody knows that the President is, and ought to be, absolute master of the situation,

and makes his own selections for the Cabinet. But for two or three months there is, for this particular purpose, a sort of poetic suspension of the Constitution, and the business of making up a Cabinet is transferred to the region of romance; the horns of Elford blow, and there is a grand parade of modest merit, and we all see for once what Cabinets would be in an ideal State, where talent and virtue alone obtained "recognition."

That the cause of civil-service reform in the Federal service has little to fear and much to hope from General Harrison, might fairly be inferred from the news from Indianapolis touching the pressure of the office-seekers, already begun, even if his character and promises gave no guarantee on the subject. He will be compelled, for self-protection, if for no other reason, to enforce the letter of the law with regard to the classified service, and apply it, in spirit at least, to the unclassified. The eagerness for places displayed by the victors is already so great that the Republican organs are calling on them for the exercise of patience and self-restraint. When their appetite is so sharp after four years' exclusion, we may guess what it would be after twenty-five years' exclusion, such as the poor Democrats had suffered in 1884. We suspect that, by the 1st of April next, both President Cleveland and his party will stand higher in Gen. Harrison's estimation than they do now. Good Republicans who found fault with them for not living up to their professions about patronage, did not know what it was to deal with 200,000 or 300,000 ravenous office-seekers, and no Republican President since Lincoln has had any experience of it. As the country grows in wealth and population, these predatory hordes increase in number and violence, and any President who means to retain a shred of conscience or self-respect must bar the doors against them.

Wherever a test is made for traces of the "cyclone of fear" among wage-workers, they are not to be found. No matter whether the area of whole States be chosen, like New Jersey and Connecticut, or separate portions of large or small towns, the result is the same: the workingmen were not frightened and the employers were. A private letter from Piqua, Ohio, says: "The free-trade scare did not lose us votes in the 'laborers' wards,' but did somewhat in the business and residence portions. At least 1,000 of our population, which is 10,000, are employed in shops, and their employers did work hard—especially the owners of the linseed-oil mills, of which there are four in the city—to influence them." When the farmers shall get as wide awake as the operatives are, the shares in the Trust will lose more than the considerable advance which they have made since the result of the election was known. On the other hand,

equally persistent are the evidences of unusual corruption of voters, especially in the rural districts. We have note of one little New York town where \$350 was spent, and forty votes were bought, the greater number of which belonged naturally to the Democratic party. It was all very open: one of the buyers showed a list of twenty-one votes which he purchased on election day. The same thing was done in the two neighboring towns; in one of them—a farming town—sixty votes were known to be bought, and the town, which is generally "doubtful," gave Gen. Harrison 130 majority. Our advices show that this state of facts existed generally throughout the central portion of this State.

It is useless to deny or evade the fact that the vote has shown that the farmers, on whom the tariff-reformers relied with some confidence, and from whom the Republicans expected but little, are at present either opposed to or indifferent to changes in the tariff, and that no serious change can be made until they are won over. Winning them over is a much more difficult matter than the winning over of the "wage-workers." Of all classes of civilized men, the farmer has from the earliest ages been hardest to persuade. His mind, like the mind of every man who lives in the country, is apt to get stiffened by want of contact with his fellows, by hard work, often solitary work, in the open air, by inability to find much time or wakefulness for reading, and by the monotony of his calling, all the phenomena of which recur with almost unbroken regularity. There is no class on which habit lies more heavily, to which the old ways seem safer, to which novelties, including new ideas, seem so suspicious, and which is so loath to hear more than one side of a debatable question. These difficulties might be overcome, however, by tact and persistence. The farmer is hard to persuade, but he is not unpersuadable. All farmers are not like the English farmer who, during the Anti-Corn Law agitation, "thanked God he was not open to conviction."

But there is, in addition to these difficulties, the very great one that the American farmers cannot be reached easily with speeches or documents. To get up a meeting of operatives or mechanics in a manufacturing centre is an easy matter; they are all on the spot, and eager to gather and listen in the evening to any one who has anything to say to them. Farmers live far apart, and have to travel miles over bad roads to attend meetings. The evening, when they are tired and reluctant to leave home or use their horses, is their only leisure time. Moreover, they are not eager readers of more than one newspaper, which, in this State, among Republican farmers, is apt to be the *Tribune*, which most of them suppose to be the same kind of paper as when Horace Greeley edited it. They take its humbug and its cant with the same guileless

simplicity with which they took Greeley's fervor and enthusiasm, and swallow without suspicion a thousand bits of imposture which a dweller in cities detects at a glance. To describe the situation fully, we must add that it is among the farmers mainly that the passions of the war and suspicions of the South still linger, and that the cause of reform was therefore weighted among them by the fact that the Mills bill was framed by and found its ablest defenders among Southerners. It had, therefore, in the rural districts to contend, not only with the farmer's ordinary fear of change, but his fear of change proffered by hands which he cannot help still considering hostile. These are assuredly not insuperable difficulties, but they cannot be attacked too soon. The task of reformers during the coming winter should be to win over the rural districts by appropriate missionary work. If the farmer will not come to the missionary, the missionary must seek him out during his least busy season, and if he will not buy tariff literature, see that he finds plenty of it to his hand for nothing.

The Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts has published the report of its treasurer of the receipts and expenditures of the club during the recent campaign. The receipts consisted of three items: \$1,820 from entrance fees and assessments of 364 members, \$8,501 from contributions of 131 persons, and \$181.88 from sale of documents outside the State and to the Tariff Reform League, and from other sources. The expenditures are given under thirty different heads, the largest single item being \$2,173.12 for printing 1,403,500 documents, and specifications are given as to the cost of distributing those documents; while other items cover the expenses of headquarters, the cost of printing Russell and Corcoran "stickers" for distribution by the State Committee, etc.; only \$49.76 being left for the final entry of "other miscellaneous expenses."

Such a report as this is now an anomaly, but we live in hope of seeing the day when it will be, not only common, but also inevitable; when the law will require an itemized statement under oath by the treasurer of every campaign committee of its receipts and expenditures. Contrast the record of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts with the record, or rather the lack of record, of the National Committees of the two great parties. The campaign was no sooner ended than it was announced that the Republican managers had made a bonfire of all the written matter which had accumulated in their headquarters, care being taken to see that no scrap of paper escaped the flames. Nobody wonders at this, considering that the Chairman of the Committee was a man whom the leading organ of his own party only a few years ago charged with being guilty of the most insolent defiance of public sentiment seen since Tweed's day, and the Treasurer a man who wrote a letter giving instructions, which were followed, how to carry Indiana for his party by buying "floaters."

Quay and Dudley are apparently going to set up a permanent bureau of corruption in Washington. This, at least, is the inference we draw from the announcement, which we find copied into the *Tribune*, that they are to keep the National Committee in constant session, and that Quay is going to "hold what he has won with a mailed hand." It is further announced that he is already beginning to distribute the spoils, and that he has an agreement with Gen. Harrison that he (Quay) is to be allowed to treat the election as an old-fashioned spoils victory, and that he and his camp-fellows are to be allowed to "loot" the public service at their pleasure. We have no doubt that this is an old-fashioned lie, and that Quay has no understanding with Gen. Harrison (or with anybody but Satan) that he is to be allowed to continue with impunity to practise any species of rascality. As to that precious scamp, Dudley the Treasurer, his letter about "the floaters in blocks of five" is, we believe, at this moment in the hands of the Grand Jury at Indianapolis, with a fair chance of getting him indicted in December; though, of course, "politics" is very powerful even with grand juries in that State. If he can be caught and convicted, a term in the State Prison would do him a world of good, some of which might even reach Quay vicariously.

Although Mr. Miller's canvass for the Governorship on a high-license platform did not result in his own success, it seems clear that it was a chief element in carrying the State of New York for Harrison. The Prohibitionists steadily increased their vote in New York from 1884 until it reached nearly 42,000 last November, and a few months ago they counted upon 50,000 this year at the very least, while the more sanguine predicted a total of 60,000, and some even put their estimates as high as 75,000. Apparently they did not poll 30,000, and it is obvious that the main reason was Mr. Miller's fight against the saloons. The difference between the actual Prohibition vote and the Third-Party vote which was reasonably to have been expected if the Republican candidate for Governor had not made a straightforward fight on the temperance issue, is more than the amount of Harrison's plurality over Cleveland; so that Mr. Miller may fairly claim to have carried New York for Harrison, if not for himself. That this is the correct view, appears the more clearly by comparing the result in New York with that in Connecticut. In the latter State the Republicans nominated a saloon candidate for Governor, and the result was a decided increase in the Prohibition vote. Despite Cleveland's gains over 1884 among the workingmen in the manufacturing cities and towns, he would have lost the State by reason of Harrison's gains among the farmers, except for the fact that the nomination of Bulkeley for Governor by the Republicans drove Republicans into the Prohibition party, as in this State the nomination of Miller for Governor won Prohibitionists back into the Republican party.

Pretty much everything else about the

recent election in West Virginia is involved in doubt, but one question which came up was decisively settled. A prohibition amendment to the Constitution was submitted to popular vote, and it was buried under an adverse majority estimated as high as 40,000. The movement to incorporate prohibition in the fundamental law has met one unbroken series of defeats ever since such an amendment was defeated by a narrow margin in Michigan a year ago last spring; Oregon, Texas, Tennessee, and now West Virginia, having decided against it.

The woman-suffrage question has just come before the Legislature of another State, a vote having been taken in the Vermont House on Thursday. The matter was presented in the shape of a bill giving women the right to vote in municipal elections, and the measure was strongly supported before the Committee. The analogy of Kansas was invoked—a State which, like Vermont, is overwhelmingly Republican, and which introduced municipal suffrage for women two years ago. Altogether the advocates of the change were exceedingly hopeful of victory, and apprehended defeat, if at all, only by a narrow majority. The result, however, showed that they had entirely misjudged the temper of the law-makers, the bill being defeated by a vote of 192 to 87, or more than five to one.

The Knights of Labor have been holding what may be their last National General Assembly. Their annual report shows that they have lost in membership during the past year no less than 300,000, and that their expenditures have so far exceeded receipts that the order is bankrupt. Their receipts for the year were \$265,500, and their expenditures exceeded this amount by nearly \$4,000. Of the expenditure \$50,000 was for salaries, and \$32,000 for hotel, mileage, and travelling expenses of the officials. Printing, paper, and postage amounted to \$41,000 more, and \$75,000 were "donated" to various district assemblies. The "Strike Defence Fund" is all gone, and the "Educational Fund" also; there is a heavy mortgage upon the palatial headquarters of the order in Philadelphia; there is a large collection of doubtful investments in a coal mine, a wagon factory, and a lithograph company; and the air is filled with charges of fraud against the officials of the order.

The great Powderly is still talking as glibly as ever, if we may judge from the annual address which he printed in the official organ of the order before starting for the Convention. He says in it:

"I do not blame men for striking; I blame them for making fools of themselves in not knowing how to strike. They always strike at the top leaf on the tree, because it appears plainest to the vision; but they always leave the root undisturbed to grow other and more powerful shoots. On many an occasion I have almost lost patience with prominent men in the labor movement—men who have lived in the past so long that they cannot see that the agencies of this generation are entirely different from those of any other, and from their point of view the strike has the same power as of old. We must teach men what it is that creates a

necessity for a strike. They must be taught how to strike effectively against the system which permits gambling in money, in land, in railways, and in the very food which is withheld from the mouths of millions at the sound of the stockbroker's ticker. Our Lecturers and Educators should be kept in the field, and instructed to keep these questions always before the people."

The meaning of this is somewhat obscure, but, as we make it out, it seems to claim that the true solution of the Labor Problem can only be reached by continuing Powderly's \$5,000 salary and sending him abroad as a Lecturer and an Educator.

One of the drollest books of the season, and one which deals liberally with the affairs of the United States, is a London publication entitled 'The Economic Crisis,' by Sir Moreton Frewen. We know what a commercial crisis is and what a financial crisis is, but having never heard of an economic crisis which was neither commercial nor financial, we looked with curiosity into Sir Moreton's pages to find out what it might be. It appears to be, in this case, a shortage of money in Europe, consequent upon the demonetization of silver. The flattering situation of America, where silver has been remonetized, and where "Gresham's law"—which requires that inferior money should, in all cases, drive out the superior—has been proved to be a humbug, is admirably contrasted with the harrowing condition of things in Europe. We must remind Sir Moreton that there is not as yet any inferior money in the United States, and consequently no superior money to be driven out, our law being such that nobody except the Government can get a silver dollar without paying 100 cents in gold value for it. This is only one of a multitude of grotesque errors into which the author of 'The Economic Crisis' has fallen in dealing with the fiscal affairs of this country. He revives, for example, the oft-exploded fallacy that our act of 1873, in which the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage, was passed by stealth and for a secret and dishonest purpose. "The bondholders and other gold owners," he tells us, "meant that specie payments should be resumed through the intermediary of gold alone, and, keeping this in view, the full significance of the act of 1873 was once apparent." What "parlous stuff" this is will be understood by all who remember that in 1873, when the act was passed, the silver dollar was worth three cents more than the gold dollar—a fact that was cited in public debate in Congress. From this it follows that if the bondholders had desired to improve their position, they would have done exactly the opposite of what is here charged against them.

By way of offset to the alleged contract for 5,000 tons of iron castings awarded to an English firm by the Denver Cable Railway Company, which so powerfully affected the imaginations of some people in the recent campaign, we read in the *Railroad Gazette* that "the Westinghouse Electric Company of Pittsburgh, Pa., has been awarded the contract for a central station plant in London, England, for 25,000 incandescent lamps." Yet John Bull appears to be no way

seriously alarmed by this "invasion." The proper thing for him to do at the next general election would be to display the Union Jack surmounted by the Stars and Stripes, and to ask all sturdy Britons whether they want the Yankees to light the houses of London and take the bread out of the mouths of British workmen. But John has passed the infantile stage of existence, and is satisfied to get the best thing that is to be had for his money.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his bride must be glad that it is over. Getting married in this country, if you are a person of distinction, is much like taking a bath in ice-water. You see the newspapers getting ready for you, and as the happy day approaches the more miserable you become. A shuddering sensation passes up and down your spinal column, and you wonder whether it is true, as your encouraging friends tell you, that after the first plunge you will not feel the chill at all, and that the reaction will be wholesome and exhilarating. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain have borne themselves with fortitude in these trying moments, and it must be said that they have suffered much less at the hands of the editors than Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland had to endure on a like occasion.

The London *Spectator's* explanation of Mr. Cleveland's defeat is, that he had disappointed the Mugwumps on account of his "vacillating and injudicious foreign policy," which is an entirely new view. It also flatters itself "that the Irish vote is now powerless for three years," and within that period "reasonable negotiations will be possible." It admits that Irish influence in the Union is an "ugly fact for Americans to consider," but consoles itself with the thought "that it is not nearly so bad as it would be were home rule conceded." There is hardly any unpleasant thing an English Liberal-Unionist now thinks of which would not be aggravated by home rule. He reminds one of the Southern negro who said to a traveller enjoying the moonlight: "You should a' seen dat moon befo' de wah."

Lord Ashbourne's Act, on the extension of which Mr. Gladstone has locked horns with the Ministry, authorizes the Government to lend money at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the tenant to enable him to buy his farm when the landlord is willing to sell, at a fair price based on the rental. The Government pays 3 per cent. on this sum, and the difference of one and a-half per cent. is credited to the tenant, and goes towards the reduction of the principal, which it is to extinguish in about forty-nine years. The act has been in operation three years, and according to the Ministry has been a great success. As the first instalment of money voted to carry it out has been exhausted, or nearly so, another £5,000,000 is accordingly asked for. The main objection of the Gladstonians to it is that it pledges the credit of the Government for the benefit of the Irish landlords, who are very eager to sell but could not find purchasers if the Government did not

help them; and that it would really make the State the landlord of the whole country, and expose the Government to all the odium attaching to that character if bad times came and the tenants were unwilling to pay, and perhaps make the repudiation of the debt due by the tenants a political issue. Another and a minor one is that the proposal to extend the Act is an attempt to divert attention from the question of arrears, which is depriving a large proportion of the tenants of the benefit of the Land Act of 1881. The Land Commissioners cut down their rents, but have no power to touch the arrears of rents which they have pronounced excessive, and for which tenants are being evicted by the thousand. Like most other things done or attempted for Ireland, however, there is an immense amount of English "politics" in it. The present proposal is more or less due to the Cabinet's fear of going on for another session with nothing in the Irish programme but coercion, and it is more or less discredited by the way in which Mr. Balfour frequently, and Lord Salisbury now and then, describes the bulk of the Irish people, to whom it is proposed to lend the money, as persons bent on robbery. In fact, if one judged from their descriptions, it would be the height of folly to lend money to such a community. Therefore the Liberals say, with some plausibility, "You do not really expect ever to get this money back, but the loan will answer your purpose, as it will deliver your friends, the landlords, from their present plight."

What progress the Government is making in the pacification of Ireland is hard to make out. Mr. Balfour keeps up a very active warfare on the stump with the Gladstonians, and maintains that he is doing splendidly with his Coercion Act, and has all but put an end to boycotting and outrages. To this the Gladstonians reply that outrages have indeed diminished, but the reason is that the Irish people now hope something from the constitutional agitation carried on in their behalf in England, and therefore rely less on outrages; hence, there is no sign of real reconciliation or submission. The discussion between him and them, however, mainly consists of recrimination. When they reproach him with his imprisonments and arrests, and so forth, he says they did the same thing when they were in power; and when they reply that they now see the error of their ways, and are sorry for it, he rejoins that they are liars and hypocrites. He is the liveliest man with his tongue who has ever held the office of Irish Secretary, and accordingly gives great satisfaction to the old Tories, who like to see Gladstone handled without gloves. He has got much satisfaction lately from an address against home rule signed by nearly all the Irish Nonconformist Ministers, which furnishes some set-off to the home-rule tendencies of the English Nonconformists; but the Irish Nonconformists, if Presbyterians are taken out, are hardly worth consideration from the political standpoint.

THE REALLY SERIOUS MATTER.

THE fortnight which has elapsed since the election has been devoted very largely, by those who care anything about politics, to speculation as to the cause of the Democratic defeat. Of course, the conclusions reached on this subject are numerous and varied, and not one of them would probably meet with anything like general acceptance. But with regard to two important phenomena of the contest, there is, we think, an almost general agreement. One is, that the Republican victory did not come from the quarter from which it was generally expected—the operatives and mechanics of the great manufacturing centres: their alarm over the effect of a reduction of the tariff on wages did not influence the result. The other is, that money was used in this election with a profusion never before known on American soil. Some of the estimates place the Republican outlay at \$3,000,000, none put it lower than \$1,000,000. The former estimate derives much support from the fact that the Committee demanded \$400,000 in the last week of the campaign. When this sum was needed to finish up the work, we are warranted in inferring that \$2,500,000, at least, was needed to carry it on during the preceding three months.

How much the Democrats used we cannot say. We are not raising this discussion in their interest or for their vindication. But they undoubtedly were able to get very much less than the Republicans, because they had no wealthy class to call on which had, or thought it had, an immense pecuniary interest in the result. The Democrats, perhaps, did as well as they could in the same line, but their best was comparatively feeble; for it must be said, to the credit of the Administration, that assessments were not extorted from the Government officers, and although the President set a very bad example by a large contribution, voluntary offerings were, as usual, small and rare. We are not, therefore, attempting to compare the morality of the two parties. We are simply calling the attention of patriotic Americans to the fact that enormous sums of money, greater than ever before, were at this last election put into the hands of men noted for their unscrupulousness about means, and were used for the purpose, in some way or other, of deciding who should be the next President of the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that the election came nearer than any which has preceded it to being the sale of the Government at public auction to the party able to "put up" most money. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that all the tendencies of the day are in this direction—that in politics, as in morals, the first foe in the field is the belief or disposition to believe that a rich man ought to have his way. It was thought a "big thing" when Jay Gould gave \$50,000 to "Johnny" O'Brien in aid of Blaine in 1884. We believe a gift of a similar amount in the late canvass would have been considered a comparative trifle. The world marches on every side towards heavier expenditure. In a village near New York

there are seventy-five colored voters who have always hitherto disposed of their votes for two dollars apiece: this year they insisted on five dollars apiece, and, we believe, got it. They felt the buoyancy in the market almost as soon as the canvass opened.

There is nothing particularly new about all this. In the politics of all countries, under a popular government, rich men buy votes and poor men sell them, if the law permits it to be done secretly and with impunity. There is not a single modern State the government of which would not be periodically sold to the highest bidder, as the Roman Empire was occasionally, if there were no legal difficulties in the way of such transactions. In England the traffic in votes, and even in seats in Parliament, was, before the Reform Bill was passed, almost as open as the traffic in cattle; and the practice of purchasing closely divided constituencies, or "doubtful States," as we call them, continued with more or less activity down to the passage of the Parliamentary Elections Act in 1883. It was checked somewhat by the transfer of the trial of contested seats from the Committee of the House of Commons to the judges of the law courts, but it was not finally stopped until all candidates, and all committees or agents acting in their behalf, were compelled to publish a full and sworn account, with vouchers, of their receipts and expenditures. The law prescribes exactly what the legitimate expenses of a canvass are, and provides the voter, not only with the ballot, but with absolute secrecy in casting it.

These precautions are called for, not by anything peculiar in the condition either of England or America: they are called for by human nature itself, as it is known to us in every country, and will continue to be called for in every country which has not deliberately decided to be governed by a plutocracy. Whenever that determination is reached, however, the machinery of elections will be unnecessary. When the legal term of the party in power has expired, all that will be necessary will be to call for sealed proposals for the possession of the Government during the next term, to be opened on a prescribed day, and the Administration to be handed over to the candidate offering most money. This would be moral and decent compared to our present system of hole-and-corner bribery and corruption.

In the meantime, we would warn those who believe in the old-fashioned American plain of carrying elections by persuasion, by lectures, by speeches, by articles, by appeals to the reason, or even to the passions and prejudices of men, through voice and pen; who look back with tenderness to the days when the only great men in politics were orators and statesmen, and find it hard to accept the dispensers of funds as the real heroes of a Presidential canvass, that an evil of this sort is one which grows with wonderful rapidity, and that as it grows it weakens the public sentiment on which, in the last resort, we must rely for its cure. As long as no active measures are taken to check it, the distributors of "soap" will smile more and more at the activity of the distributors of documents.

THE REMEDY FOR VOTE-BUYING.

THE theory that a secret ballot is the surest as well as the simplest remedy for bribery at the polls, is strongly sustained by all the many accounts which have been published concerning the methods by which both political parties bought votes in the recent national election. In every instance, the chief concern of the briber was to keep a close watch upon the man whom he had bribed until his ballot was deposited. Colonel Dudley was most emphatic upon this point in his famous letter: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." The limit of five was put because that was the largest number one man could hold under such constant surveillance that no change of ballots could be made without detection. Another Indiana plan which has been described by a county committeeman was even more careful than this: "When we had secured a voter, we took him to the polls and sent him to our worker, who stood at the window. The worker handed the voter a ticket, and *saw him* give it to the judge of election." It was only after this that the money was paid over.

In New York city it has for many years been the custom of the bribers to require the man whose vote has been bought, to walk to the polls with the folded ballots which have been given to him held erect in the air, with the hand about shoulder-high, where they can be seen every moment by the watcher until they are deposited in the boxes. It is not an unusual thing in many of the worst districts of the city to see squads of men, ranging from five to ten in number, marching to the polls with their ballots thus held in view. In all the accounts of bribery which come from the New England States and from the interior and other portions of New York State, there is the same testimony on this point—the briber never allows the bribed voter to be a moment out of his sight after he has received his ballot and has started for the polls. The "bull-fence" device in some parts of Indiana is evidence on the same point. As described by one of its inventors, in the account published in the *Evening Post* of Monday, it "is a curved chute made of a high fence that leads up to the polls on one side and away from them on the other," and its object is to "give our men a chance to change their ballots on the way to the polls and not get caught at it"—that is, one party buys a number of the other party's voters, furnishes them with ballots, takes them to the polls, and starts them into the chute towards the ballot-boxes. "But," says the narrator, "at the moment when they are out of sight in the chute they slip that ballot into their pockets, slip out the ballot of their own party, and hand it to the election officers without any one having seen the change made."

All this furnishes conclusive evidence that if the act of voting were performed in secret no bribed voter could or would be trusted to

carry out his bargain when left to himself, without possibility of detection at the polls. This has been found to be the case in Australia and England, and, in fact, wherever the secret ballot has been put into practice. It is the unanimous testimony of all English authorities that it is the secrecy provision, rather than the rigorous provisions of the law against bribery of all kinds, which has abolished bribery at the polls in Great Britain. Speaking on this point when he was in this country last year, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said:

"In my opinion there is at the present moment exceedingly little electoral bribery and corruption in the United Kingdom. The elections are singularly pure, and are daily, if it were possible, improving in that respect. Corruption, indeed, is almost an impossibility, owing to the fact that the briber is absolutely dependent upon the bribe-taker's observance of the motto, 'Honor among thieves,' for the briber has no means of ascertaining how the latter votes. This is due to the secrecy in which the ballots are cast, so very different from here, where the voter practically casts his vote in public."

Yet before the English law requiring a secret ballot went into effect, bribery had reached proportions there far in excess of what we have ever witnessed here, even in the late election. The secrecy requirement abolished it completely; for while, under the former system, there had been enormous expenditures of money, and charges of bribery sometimes affecting nearly one hundred seats, in every Parliamentary election, at the first election under the new law the expenditures dropped from \$15,000,000 to less than \$4,000,000, and there were only two charges of bribery made, and at the second election under it the expenditures fell off still more, and there was not a single charge of corrupt or illegal practice.

Sooner or later we must have in every State a reform in our election laws based upon secrecy in voting as the fundamental principle. It exists now in the Wisconsin law which went into operation in the city of Milwaukee last spring, and has worked with great success there; but it applies nowhere else in the State. It exists also in the new Massachusetts law which will go into effect next January, and will apply to the whole State. Experience has shown that secrecy is as imperative in the rural districts as in the cities, for the growth of bribery at the polls has been quite as alarming in the former as in the latter. There are signs of a greatly increased public sentiment in favor of the reform; and whether it is strong enough to compel the politicians to grant it this year or next, it is certain to become so before many years have passed.

THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

THE candidacy of David B. Hill for Governor of New York as the champion of the saloons was so open and flagrant an exhibition of subservience to the liquor interest, and its effect upon the national election was so obvious, that the public is in danger of overlooking some other manifesta-

tions of the same influence in politics which are hardly less important. This tendency is strengthened by the fact that Republicans find party advantage in fixing attention upon the discredit which the Democrats of this State brought upon their organization throughout the country by yielding to the demand of the saloons for Gov. Hill's renomination, and thus claiming that the Democratic party is always and everywhere the liquor party.

But the idea that the saloons are Democratic any more than Republican in politics, or that the liquor interest cares anything for politics at all, except as it can make either party serve its ends, is altogether wrong, as has been proved by elections held in other States. We have more than once referred to the fact that, while the Republicans of New York were inveighing against the Democrat, David B. Hill, as the friend of the saloons, the Republicans of Connecticut were trying to elect to the Governorship of that State Morgan G. Bulkeley, who has long been equally notorious among his neighbors as the friend of the saloons. The saloons of Connecticut, without regard to party, were as stoutly opposed to the Democratic candidate for Governor of that State as the saloons of New York were to the Republican candidate for Governor of this State.

Still more striking was the influence of the saloon in the politics of Missouri. This is a State long controlled by the Democrats, and where, according to the theory of New York Republicans, one would expect to find the liquor interest controlling the Government through the Democratic party. On the contrary, Missouri was one of the first States to accept the doctrine of high license, a law of that sort having passed the Legislature several years ago and been maintained against all attempts to weaken it. In the chief city of the State a Democratic Mayor, David R. Francis, has enforced the Sunday Closing Law, and secured St. Louis the quietest Sundays it has ever known. In short, Democracy has given Missouri, and particularly its metropolis, a severer restriction of the liquor evil than Republicanism has brought about in Ohio, and especially in Cincinnati, where a Republican Mayor obstinately refused to enforce the Sunday Law passed by the last Legislature.

With the same impartiality in the matter of parties as was exhibited in New York and Connecticut, the saloons in Missouri waged war upon their enemy. Mr. Francis having been nominated for Governor by the Democrats, the saloons of St. Louis, which are chiefly beer-saloons, threw their whole influence against him, and carried the city for the Republicans by a large majority. The *Republic*, the chief Democratic newspaper, says that "they polled at least 8,000 votes, and polled them as a unit, demonstrating the power of the beer-saloon in politics as it has never been demonstrated before until this election, when we have similar evidence of it in the vote for Hill in New York."

The saloon showed equal impartiality in national politics. Mr. Gallus Thomann, the head of the Literary Bureau of the United

States Brewers' Association, tells a reporter that "the Republicans were beaten in 1884 because they nominated a man for President from the great prohibition State of Maine, whose record on the prohibition question did not suit the Germans. I know what I am talking about," he added, "for I myself made the investigation of his record. I found that Mr. Blaine, while a drinker himself, had been hypocritical enough to be an ardent advocate of the Maine law in his own State. That lost him the German vote, and cost the Republican party the election." But the Republican managers changed front this year, and so won back the German vote and carried the election. "They found out their mistake," Mr. Thomann went on, "and in 1888 they nominated a man who had no objectionable prohibition record, gave the Prohibitionists the cold shoulder, and adopted a resolution copied after the utterance of the National Liquor-Dealers' Association. The consequence was that the Germans came back to the party and Harrison is elected."

The moral of all this is plain. The saloon is in politics only for the saloon. If in one State it throws its weight for the Democrats, it is not because it loves the Democratic party, but because that party in that State is on its side; and it is equally ready at the same time in another State to cast its vote for the Republican party if the latter party in that State makes the higher bid. In like manner it will oppose the Republican candidate for President in one election if it suspects him of affiliation with prohibition, and support the Republican candidate four years later if convinced that the saloon has nothing to fear from him.

The great advantage which the saloon has in all these controversies is the fact that its favorite, when once nominated by one of the great parties, is sure to be supported by a large percentage of the opponents of the saloon, simply because he is the regular candidate. Most of the Democrats in this State who deplore the power of the drink evil voted for Hill as the Democratic nominee, just as most Republicans of the like mind in Connecticut voted for Bulkeley as the Republican nominee. In other words, so long as the saloon can nominate its man in a close State, it can rely upon a large share of the churches to help elect him.

THE SUPINENESS OF RAILROAD STOCK-HOLDERS.

THE present state of some of our great railroads in the West is certainly amazing. We hear much said of the timidity of capital, and many bugbears in the shape of organized labor, State interference, and even anarchy, have in recent years been paraded before frightened property-holders; but it appears after all that their foes are of their own household. A really "smart" president or general manager, such as stockholders apparently delight to select, can do more harm to his own railroad, as well as others, than State Legislatures or Knights of Labor are likely to effect, and the success of these men of late has been phenomenal. The stockholders submit to the loss of their property with the apathy of the subjects of an

Asiatic despotism, while their servants exult in irresponsibility, and fight the most desperate financial contests with the pleasant consciousness that, whoever may win, their withers are unwrung. They are deaf to the startling admonitions of Judge Cooley, to the benevolent suggestions of the Commerce Commission, and to the warnings of experts upon the railroad question, and they are blind to the threatening attitude of the State Legislatures. They are willing to be as lavish with their stockholders' money as Artemus Ward was with the blood of his wife's relatives, and plunge them into a railroad war with as light a heart as M. Ollivier's over the declaration of war in 1870.

We are accustomed to smile at the folly of the Hindus, who, when unable to obtain justice, starve themselves to death upon the doorsteps of their oppressors; but our railroad directors seem to think that this policy is dictated by the profoundest sagacity. Whenever a railroad attempts to do business at a loss, its rivals are excited to the most frantic emulation. They proceed to punish the offender by showing it how much more severely they can injure themselves than any one else can injure them, and they have kept this up until several fine properties have been brought to the brink of ruin. During the intervals when they are not employed in cutting rates, they devote themselves to building parallel roads as a preparation for renewed rate-wars on their completion. Their methods have a curious resemblance to those of the territorial magnates of Europe during the Middle Ages, when the chief business of rulers was to enlarge their possessions regardless of the sufferings of their subjects. To do them justice, it must be said that they have the same excuse, the temptation to seize on a rich province being as great to a railroad man as to a prince; but some regard ought to be paid to the lessons of history.

Speaking broadly, the lesson of European history is that wars of conquest have seldom been very successful. Territory acquired in this way is generally held by an uncertain tenure. It may be held for a long time, as Alsace and Lorraine were held by France; but so long as there are other Powers which feel that it is wrongfully held, there is always danger of retaliation. No considerable Power can placidly behold the advance of another into provinces that are naturally connected with the former—provinces which, if not actually tributary, are at least in the possession of friendly Powers of moderate strength and circumscribed ambition. It was a great mistake for France to extend her control to Tunis. She gained little or nothing, but she incurred the lasting enmity of Italy, and converted a friendly and grateful nation into a dangerous foe. It is by no means impossible that she may eventually lose Nice and Savoy as a punishment for her disregard of those feelings of *quasi* proprietorship which Italy naturally has in African territory so closely approaching her own. Geographical and racial distinctions cannot be arrogantly overridden. In the acquisition of territory, compromise is almost invariably more profitable to all parties than competition.

Our railroads, it is true, need pay no attention to distinctions of race, but they cannot ignore geography. Every great road regards certain territory as naturally belonging or tributary to it: it is territory which already it fully supplies with transportation, or which it can reach, by extending its branches, with greater facility than other roads. If a rival road undertakes to build in this territory, it is sure to excite retaliation, and it will probably lose more by arousing this competition than it can gain by attempting to annex territory to which there are existing claims. The consequences are frequently disadvantageous to the communities that suppose themselves to be benefited by the competition. Unless the amount of transportation is very large, it can be done at less expense by one road than by two, and in the long run increased expense must fall upon those who use the road. Railroads may be built by foreign capital, but they must always be operated with their own earnings, and the greater the expense of transportation, the higher the charges.

To determine what territory naturally belongs to a certain road is often, of course, a matter of difficulty; but to fight over the question is not the only way of determining it. Men in charge of great trusts ought to be able in most cases to come to some agreement or compromise, and when they cannot, they ought to seek the help of arbitration. What stockholders need is some advisory board to which they can apply when they become convinced that their property is mismanaged. As it is, they are the victims of their tyrannical rulers. They elect them, it is true, but they are incompetent to displace them, or even to criticise them; they have not the necessary knowledge, and they are disunited. They know that their property suffers, but they seldom know just why, and they cannot tell what to do about it. It should be the duty of such a board to inform itself as to the merits of railroad disputes, and, if its advice was not followed, to point out to stockholders the errors of their rulers, thus enabling them, if they chose, to insist upon their correction. It would not be necessary to confer upon this body power to dictate policies or to compel action, and it would be undesirable, even if it were practicable, to have it established by Government. The railroad president who persisted in fighting after a properly constituted board had proposed reasonable terms of peace, would probably soon find that his resignation would be acceptable.

The prohibition of pooling by the Commerce Act is probably unwise, but no one believes that it would really prevent the railroads from maintaining fair rates if they were all managed by honest and reasonable men. The trouble is, that some managers have a very low conception of their powers and responsibilities. Their views as to obtaining business seem to be those of the ordinary commercial traveller, and they have not sufficient breadth of mind to appreciate the advantages of honorable management. They make rates for the public and grant rebates in private; they con-

nive at the cutting of rates by their agents when they have entered into agreements to maintain them; and they have created a dangerous public prejudice against railroads by their duplicity and arrogance. Most men do not demand special privileges and rebates on their own account, but because they are afraid that other people are getting them. Most railroads grant them, not because they prefer to, but because they are afraid that other roads will grant them. The prohibition of pooling makes it harder to remove these suspicions, but it does not necessitate the present reckless competition. The example of the coal companies shows that fairly satisfactory results can be obtained by a tacit understanding that is apparently not obnoxious to the statute.

The settlement of our Eastern railroad wars by the agency of a leading firm of bankers shows that the plan which has been suggested is not an impracticable one. If men of this standing could be induced, by the action of railroad stockholders as a class, to serve as disinterested advisers and peace-makers, doubtless railroad directors as a class would be glad in most cases to appeal to them. Certainly the stockholders in the Western roads have suffered enough, owing to the causes which we have indicated, to lead them to take measures for self-preservation. When a road has been ruined, the bondholders generally unite and appoint a committee to protect their interests. There is no conclusive reason why stockholders should not unite for a like purpose before their roads have been ruined. Unless they can bring themselves to adopt some such means of checking the follies of their trustees, they are likely to suffer quite as severely in the future as in the past.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

THE protest against the abuse of examinations in England, to which we referred last week, touches indirectly on the effect of competitive examinations for admission to the public service; and Prof. Max Müller doubts whether they have not been injurious to the Government service in India, where he was one of the most strenuous advocates of their introduction, and Mr. Frederic Harrison makes the somewhat foolish remark that, under them, "Arthur Wellesley would not have got into the army and Burke would have received low marks." The protestants suggest no substitute for the competitive system, but mention, in a faint-hearted way, that somebody else has suggested a pass examination, to be followed by a term of probation, which, as the *Economist* points out, would result in practice in the restoration of the old system of favoritism under a very thin disguise.

The fact is, that the competitive system in England is what its enemies in this country used to say ours was—an examination in a variety of subjects, with no direct bearing on the work the successful candidates were to do, and which only college graduates could pass. In England these examinations are so severe, and cover so much ground, literary, historical, and scientific, that not only are college graduates as such unable to pass

them, but every college graduate who wants to get into the army or the civil service, in all but the lowest grades, has to be prepared by an elaborate system of cramming, which takes from six months to a year of time, and costs a good deal of money. The "coaches" or crammers who prepare men for the examinations are now a large and influential body, some members of which, who make a reputation by the success of their pupils, earn as large incomes as all but the leading lawyers.

Of course, the influence of this is greatly felt in all the schools and colleges, and under it, naturally enough, the state of things has arisen of which the protestants complain, and in which both teachers and pupils, professors and students, all over the country, have come to look on education as simply preparation for some examination through which they will get a salary and entrance on a career. The more vigorously the candidates get themselves up on subjects, of course the higher the tests have to be; so that for some years back a sort of competition has been going on between the examiners and the crammers very like that which has been going on between the makers of guns and of armor plating. Every time the gun-makers increase the power of the projectile, the shipbuilders have to thicken or harden the plating. So, also, the more thoroughly prepared the crammers make the candidates, the more rigorous the requirements of the examiners become. The remedy would seem to be to cut down greatly the literary and scientific exactions, and give a good deal more weight to character, physical condition, and knowledge bearing directly on the duties to be performed; or, in other words, to assimilate the examinations more nearly to those in use in this country. The notion that there is any choice between competitive examinations and the old system of patronage finds no acceptance anywhere. It may be true that Wellington could not have got into the army under the present system; but who can tell how many Wellingtons were kept out of the army by want of influence or aristocratic connections? Wellingtons did not abound in the British service in Wellington's day. His immediate predecessor in the Peninsula, whom he had great difficulty in superseding, was a wretched dolt.

The weakness of the protestants' position, in so far as their animadversions are directed against the use of examinations as tests of proficiency on the part of teachers and pupils in schools, is that their remedy—in so far as they suggest a remedy—calls for a very large body of teachers of a kind which does not exist, or exists only in very small numbers. In this they remind us a little of the Socialists, all whose plans for reorganizing society always assume the existence of an immense and now unemployed stock of administrative talent, which can be readily called into play. Where this talent is, nobody knows. All employers, all corporations, all governments are hunting for it night and day, and tempting it by high pay

and great honor; but they do not get it. So also the enemies of examinations as tests of the teacher's capacity and the pupil's progress seem to assume the existence of an immense body of teaching talent, which will develop the minds and morals of children by mere force of character and example, so that there will be no need to test their work by mechanical processes like inspectorial questioning. We hope there is such a body of teaching talent somewhere, but there are as yet very few signs of its existence. As far as one can see at present, the number of born teachers—that is, of men or women who possess in a marked degree the teaching talent, and are capable of becoming a dominating influence to a roomful of children or youths, and of carrying on their work for years without loss of vigor, freshness, or interest—is exceedingly small. In fact, we should say that such teachers were almost as scarce as great generals or great statesmen. The great bulk of teachers, as the world is now constituted, will and must be people who teach from necessity and not from choice, who find the occupation monotonous and wearing to the nerves, and whose work would infallibly fall off if it were not constantly tested by the simple and, we admit, commonplace process of question and answer.

THE COLONIAL POLICY OF FRANCE.

WHEN the philosophical historian comes to write the definitive account of the passion for colonization which possesses all the leading countries of Europe, he will undoubtedly rank it as one of the incidents of the modern industrial development and competition. Colonies are planted and civilization is engrafted on barbarism in order that the home market may be eased of its glut. That is the main motive, and the subsidiary ones are but grouped about it. In the case of France, the traditional thirst of Frenchmen for *gloire* probably enters into her schemes for extending her colonial possessions next in importance after the commercial reason. Certain it is that since 1870, as formerly after 1815, France has sought in Algeria and China that military glory which was denied her on European battlefields.

The modern colonial policy of France has been subjected to thorough criticism by M. de Lanessan, in a series of articles in the *Revue Scientifique*. He maintains that the experience of a hundred years has established three main rules for the planting of colonies among barbarous peoples. The first rule is to respect native religious practices; the second, to regard native social institutions; the third, to make use of the existing system of local administration as far as possible. All these rules, says M. de Lanessan, are steadily violated by France.

Taking up the last specification first, the French administration of the affairs of Cochin China appears to have been badly directed for the past seven years. For nearly a score of years before 1881, Cochin China escaped a rigorous application of the French administrative system. It was a period of

general prosperity. Natural resources were steadily developed, the revenues increased easily even with light taxes, and great public works were entered upon. But in 1881 the country was put under the "régime civil." Essentially the same prefectorial machinery as that of France was introduced; the number of French officials was quadrupled; naturally enough, taxes were doubled. Costly buildings for the public service now absorb the funds before devoted to improving the means of communication and transport. A pronounced dissatisfaction with French rule has sprung up where before there was, at the worst, indifference to it.

"I cannot insist too much," says M. de Lanessan, "upon the mistake we have made in forcing our civil code upon the natives of Cochin China." As it is easy to see, this flies in the face of all native ideas of the family, of inheritance, rights of husband and wife, parents and child, etc. To endeavor to set aside completely and at a stroke conceptions passed on by tradition for thousands of years, seems indeed the height of folly. How the natives regard the French code may be inferred from a recent occurrence in Algeria. It was proposed to the Mussulmans of a certain district that they should become "naturalized." Their leaders deliberated over the question, perceiving the political advantages which would come to them by acquiescing, but finally returned answer that the thing was impossible, that it would involve a complete social revolution, the consequences of which they could not pretend to foresee.

The articles to which we refer lay much stress upon the way in which the French colonial authorities ride rough-shod over the religious prejudices of the natives under their rule. "Everywhere in Anam and Tonkin," says the writer, "I have seen pagodas occupied, often needlessly, by our troops, to the great scandal of the inhabitants; our soldiers looting the most sacred and venerated objects, and, too often, the civil authorities shutting their ears to the just complaints made on this account by the natives. . . . To a considerable degree, the characteristic of our present colonial policy is the offensive tendency of our colonial officials to favor openly and officially the propaganda, often more zealous than prudent, of the missionaries."

In the last sentence a matter is touched upon which is deserving of special notice. It is highly curious and instructive to see how France, while becoming more intensely anticlerical in her domestic policy, poses as the great champion and protector of Catholic missions abroad. In fact, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith is largely a French society; its two councils sit, the one at Lyons, the other at Paris. The diplomatic, often the military, activity of France in China has taken directions which can never be understood until its Catholic coloring, and the reason for it, have been observed. As long ago as 1862 the French Minister of State, M. Billault, declared in the Senate, in regard to the then recent expedition to China: "We went into the far East, and shed the blood of France there, to represent the spirit of re-

ligion, and plant that cross which is the symbol of the Empire and civilization."

The explanation of the matter is this. The Jesuits, at the time of their expulsion from China in 1722, were in possession of considerable lands and houses. These have been eyed longingly ever since, and the power of France has been used to get them back, in part at least. By the Treaty of Nankin, in 1846, it was provided that "all the ancient houses through the provinces which were built in the reign of Kanghi, and have been preserved to the present time, and which, on examination by the proper authorities, are clearly found to have been the bona-fide possessions of the professors of the Roman religion, are to be restored to them, except only those which have been converted into temples or dwelling-houses for the people." Under the terms of this concession, the efforts of the French ambassadors have been vigorously and persistently made in aid of the Catholic missionaries. Indeed, little by little, France took the position of protector, not only of French missionaries, but of the Catholic missionaries in China of all nationalities. In one case, not long after the Franco-German war, a German missionary in China was found appealing to France for protection. Not only so, but finally France put forth the pretence of being the protector of all native Catholics.

But Chinese diplomacy, if slow, can see through a ladder. By a well-considered counter-move it set up the Pope as the head of Roman missions in China, and proposed to leave the religious aspects of the matter entirely with him; meanwhile it required all missionaries needing diplomatic support and protection to use the consuls and ambassadors of their own nation. The result was, according to a recent letter in the *Times*, to make the "French protectorate over the Catholic faith in China a thing of the past. In the strongest possible manner, the Viceroy of Canton has repudiated the right of the French consuls to make representations to him on behalf of native Christians in his province, and his policy has now been adopted and extended by the central Government." France has not yet accepted the situation, and the Pope, owing, it is believed, to French representations, has not yet sent an envoy to China nor received the Chinese ambassador at Rome; but those steps must soon be taken, apparently. In any case, the influence of France in China has been greatly impaired. It would certainly be a good thing, both for her and for China, if all this missionary matter could be taken out of the negotiations between them; it has been a constant source of friction, if not of actual war. It seems certain that Rome will have to try conclusions with China at first hand, the support of France now proving a broken reed, as did that of Portugal before.

SWISS AFFAIRS.

GENEVA, November 2.

THE laurels culled by Germany in instituting a system of obligatory insurance do not seem to allow the Swiss governments to sleep. Few questions attract attention to the same

degree, and we are only at the commencement. The *Nation's* readers have from time to time been informed of the progress of this great enterprise, in letters which have been read with interest even here. They know that the old Emperor and Prince Bismarck, in consequence of attempts on the life of the former, and of other threatening symptoms, felt the need of acting against the Socialists; at the same time, however, as an offset to measures of exceptional severity, they resolved to introduce a vast system of insurance which should show their interest in the amelioration of the lot of the working classes. On the 15th of June, 1883, the Reichstag passed the law of insurance against sickness. On the 6th of July, 1884, the law of insurance against accidents was enacted in its turn. The edifice is not yet finished, but it is to be completed by a third branch of insurance—against infirmity and old age—which is at present under consideration and will be presented in due time. At the risk of repeating what is well known, let me say that the expenses connected with the first two branches of insurance are borne entirely by the workmen and their employers, and that the State is to give financial support only in the third branch. According to the last project prepared for presentation to the Reichstag, the imperial treasury is to hand over about twelve million dollars a year for this service.

In our country the Socialists enjoy perfect liberty, within the limits of general laws. So the governments have nothing to ask pardon for; and if the question of obligatory insurance has been brought forward, it is solely from a sentiment of philanthropy, and to do justice to a desire expressed at different periods by the political groups of workingmen. Switzerland consists of twenty-two cantons, of which three are subdivided into two demi-cantons, making in all twenty-five little republics—twenty-five "sovereign States," as the Federal Constitution calls them. What conditions could be more favorable for making political experiments than this multiplicity of little organisms? It was the demi-canton of Bâle-Ville that was the first to enter on the path of compulsory insurance. Last year the local legislature voted a law of insurance against sickness, the principal points of which I have elsewhere outlined as follows:

"Each workman or apprentice, irrespective of sex, is obliged to insure against sickness in an authorized relief bank, offering, for a period of ninety days, either medicines and medical treatment free, or a subsidy of at least 24 cents a day. The employer, subject to severe penalties, is to see that his workmen are insured. He is to pay the third of their assessment out of his own pocket, or a maximum of 80 cents for each per annum. A maximum sum of \$6,000 is added annually to the budget to subsidize the savings banks of the first category giving medicines and medical attendance gratis, and to enable them to lower their premiums. If the need of it is felt, a general relief savings-banks (*caisse de secours générale*) is to be organized by the State."

This bill, however, had to be ratified by the people before it could become law, and so was lost at the polls. It was opposed chiefly by the extreme groups, Conservatives and Radicals, as well as by members of private mutual-insurance companies. But this first check did not lead to the abandonment of the idea: it has been taken up once more, and a new bill will soon be presented.

After Bâle-Ville, it was Geneva's turn. The Grand Conseil has been discussing a motion made by one of the leaders of the Radical party now in power, which, as will be noticed, not

merely includes the working classes, but is much bolder and more ambitious. It may be outlined as follows: Insurance against sickness is rendered compulsory for all natives of both sexes, whether workmen or not, from the age of eighteen. As there is a certain public that can never be made to pay their regular assessments, the State makes itself responsible and pays for them, provided that their poverty is not the result of "laziness" or "misconduct." Besides, it is understood (although this point was not formally stipulated and could not be made the object of an obligation) that the insured who are in easy circumstances—estimated at about one-half of the whole—should of their own accord give up the advantages of the undertaking and, with patriotic devotion, be satisfied with bearing their share of the expenses. The State subsidy is fixed at a maximum of \$30,000, or about thirty cents per head of the population; an insurance service is also instituted for persons not belonging to any mutual insurance company. By this combination all persons falling sick have a right to assistance. They are guaranteed the expenses of treatment during illness, and a "temporary" indemnity, the duration and amount of which are not indicated, when out of employment.

The opponents of this measure reproach it with instituting, not insurance but compulsory assistance, thus aggravating the plague of legal charity against which the "progressists" of all countries war incessantly. Again, they fear the distribution of citizens, through this insurance, into different categories—some doing nothing but give, the others doing nothing but receive; and between these two the real insurers, paying their premiums and enjoying their privileges. They also ask whether the law would not lead to arbitrary interpretations, and how poor but deserving citizens are to be distinguished from the others. In short, it is impossible from the text of the law to determine the financial bearing of the project.

So much for criticism. When it was asked what could be substituted for a measure so much found fault with, its adversaries rallied in general round the idea of a great cantonal insurance company, subsidized by the State. The delicate point was to know whether compulsion would be admitted for a certain class of citizens for whom insurance is most needed, and who are the most difficult to get into it under a régime of liberty. On this head opinions were divided. Finally, on the third of October, the question was sent back to the Conseil d'État for reconsideration, which was without doubt the wisest plan. At this point matters stand; and it will give a more complete idea of the situation if I add that in the canton of Aargau they are also busy organizing a system of compulsory insurance against sickness, while in the canton of Neuchâtel they are thinking of a system of life insurance. Finally, the Federal Government is occupied with the means of establishing a workmen's insurance against accident, which is to apply to the whole of the Swiss Confederation.

Last Friday I was present at a very touching fête held in the parlors of the Hôtel des Bergues, opposite the little island where the statue of Jean Jacques Rousseau rises, and where the Rhone escapes from the Lake of Geneva. The International Committee of the Red Cross had invited its friends, the authorities, and the consular representatives to celebrate by a banquet and appropriate manifestations the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of this great philanthropic institution. It was, in fact, on this day, a quarter of a century ago, that Geneva united within its walls delegates from the principal Powers, convoked in order

* * L'Assurance obligatoire en Allemagne, p. 63.

to organize in time of peace a free society, having its ramifications everywhere, and which in time of war might relieve the wounded on the field of battle. This project had been conceived by a local society little known abroad, the Genevan Society of Public Utility, which gave it its first practical form. When the conference opened, grave doubts were entertained of the possibility of coming to an understanding, which was, nevertheless, reached. An international society was formed having as its emblem a red cross on a white ground—the Swiss colors being a white cross on a red ground—which was to have a character of neutrality recognized by all the Powers who undertook to protect it in its humanitarian work.

The fête of Friday last was presided over by Mr. Gustave Moynier, who had presided over the meeting for organization twenty-five years ago, and who has been without interruption the central president and the soul of the association. He had at his side Dr. Appia, the second and last of the members who had founded the Red Cross. A perfect avalanche of telegrams of sympathy from all quarters of the horizon gave to this fête a most delightful cosmopolitan character. In particular, a cablegram from Washington was read, and a message from Miss Clara Barton, who is well known here, and who had sent one of the bouquets adorning the table around which we were assembled. There are few works in which we are happier than this of the Red Cross, which has helped to make Switzerland loved, and has consecrated a great victory of the Christian spirit over the barbarity of times of war.

Next year the Parisians are going to have their exposition, and we in Switzerland shall have a festival that attracts a great number of amateurs every time it takes place. Vevey, a little town of the canton of Vaud, on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, has preserved a brotherhood that dates from the Middle Ages—a brotherhood of vine-dressers. This corporation has inherited from its predecessors the custom of celebrating, at certain dates quite distant from one another, a kind of open-air theatrical performance, for which they prepare months ahead, and in which ancient mythology—Pales, Ceres, Bacchus—is joined to modern art. Admirable music is given in a grand representation, which is a sort of Oberammergau Passion-Play, but in a full pagan setting. The latest fêtes of the vine-dressers date from 1797, 1819, 1833, 1851, and finally the 26th and 27th of July, 1865. Vevey is reached in a few hours from Geneva by a splendid fleet of steamers constantly plowing the blue waters of the lake. The date of the celebration has yet to be fixed. Mr. Paul Ceresole of Vevey, President of the Swiss Confederation, will preside on this occasion.

LOUIS WUARIN.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

EDINBURGH, October 26, 1888.

I SPOKE in my last letter of the rapidity with which the Imperial Federation idea had gained ground; both in Britain itself and in the outlying parts of the Empire, within the last few years. During the few weeks since I last wrote, the subject has received an unusual proportion of notice on the platform and in the press, and the places in which it has come up for discussion are significant of the new phase through which the idea is passing.

Yesterday I attended, in the Merchants' Hall at Glasgow, a crowded meeting of business men who had come together to hear an address upon the subject from Lord Brassey. The meeting seemed to me thoroughly representa-

tive of the clear-headed Scotchmen who have made the business enterprise and success of Glasgow felt throughout the world. The chairman's introduction of Lord Brassey is worth quoting as illustrating the spirit in which the subject was considered.

"We are perpetually told," he said, "that Imperial Federation is a noble dream, but nothing more, and that it must be put in some concrete form before it can recommend itself to men of business. Now Lord Brassey is no dreamer of dreams; he is not a visionary philosopher; he is not a random rhetorician: he is a man of business, and what is more than that is this—he is probably the greatest amateur traveller in the world at this moment. Lord Brassey has travelled through the British Empire, . . . he has, so to speak, looked into every chink and crevice of the British Empire; and this man of business comes back to you and will tell you that he is convinced that Imperial Federation is a necessity for this Empire and a necessity of the near future."

Addressing itself to the consideration of the speeches made by Lord Brassey and others upon this occasion, the *Scotsman*, which is distinctly representative of the best thought of Scotland, says:

"Imperial Federation is not to be thrust aside in the future as it has been in the past. The speakers said many things which deserve to be carefully considered by all who have at heart the future greatness of the Empire. The spirit in which they advocate Imperial Federation is not one of shallow and boastful imperialism. There is nothing of what the French call Chauvinism in the proposals they make. They have regard to plain and obvious facts. Our Empire is not confined within the narrow limits of the British islands. It is found in all parts of the world. British enterprise and courage have built up great communities across the Atlantic, in Africa, in the Indian Ocean, and in the far-away Pacific. These communities have grown, and are growing. Are they to remain part of our Empire, or are they to split away from us, and become, if not our enemies, our touchy and jealous friends? These questions are forced upon us by the logic of facts. . . . Shall we wrap ourselves in a mantle of selfishness, declare that our interests are only at home, and that our colonies may do as they please? Nothing could be more suicidal. Such a policy would mean certain, and probably not slow, destruction. . . . It is not a party question, and it ought never to become one in the sense in which other and less vital matters are made party questions. But Imperial Federation will become the rallying cry of a party comprising all who wish to see the greatness of our Empire maintained, and the prosperity and happiness of the people guaranteed by the best of all possible securities."

About a fortnight ago, Lord Rosebery addressed the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, on the invitation of that body. He pointed out with great force to the merchants of Leeds that the commercial interests of Britain were most intimately connected with her colonial empire; that this would be still more so in the future as the colonies grew in wealth and power; and that in no way could the Chambers of Commerce throughout the country, representing, as they did, the practical side of the national life, employ their great influence more effectively than in studying the problems of national consolidation, and educating the public mind on the bearings of the question. He closed his address with words of great significance, as coming from one of the foremost statesmen of this country.

"The cause which we call Imperial Federation, for want of a better name, is worthy not merely the attention of Chambers of Commerce, but is worthy of the individual devotion of the people of this country. . . . I can say from the bottom of my heart that it is the dominant passion of my public life. Ever since I traversed those great regions which own the sway of the British crown outside these islands, I have felt that this was a cause which merited all the enthusiasm and energy that man could give to it. It is a cause for which any one might be

content to live; it is a cause for which, if needs be, any one might be content to die."

It is evident that the question has entered upon a new phase, when the attention and criticism of the business mind of the country are thus challenged by leading public men.

I have lately had the advantage of much frank conversation with Lord Rosebery upon this and kindred subjects, and it has occurred to me that some statement of his views in this connection would, in the light of recent events and public utterances, have special interest for readers of the *Nation*. It will be remembered that, when serving as Foreign Minister in Mr. Gladstone's last government, Lord Rosebery had the singular satisfaction of finding that his management of national relations met with as hearty endorsement from Lord Salisbury and the Conservative party as from his Liberal friends themselves, and probably no Minister of late years has done more to maintain the high traditions of the British Foreign Office. Himself an ardent Liberal, eager for the reform of the House of Lords, in which he sits, keeping himself in touch with advanced Liberal thought, having the political strength of Scotland almost entirely at his back, and specially indicated by Mr. Gladstone as his probable successor in the leadership of the Liberal party, there is probably no man in England to day whose views about Britain's national position have more significance. The absolute frankness and sincerity which he brings to the discussion of public questions make me confident that he would have no objection to having his views known as widely as possible.

Starting from the idea that the consolidation of an oceanic empire, which is the Federationist ideal, would be favorable to the world's peace, Lord Rosebery believes that a closer and permanent union of the various British possessions throughout the world is not only desirable but practicable, and that the tendency of things at the present time is to necessitate such a union. The democratic movement in England is bringing Britain more into harmony with colonial life, and one of the best results of federation would be to draw Britain out of the circle of merely European politics, and therefore into the broadening stream of Anglo-Saxon life throughout the world, with its enormous democratic interests.

He thinks that such a movement ought to strengthen and deepen sympathy between Britain and America. He sees no reason for constant jealousies and misunderstandings between these two great branches of our race. The great interests of each lie in peace, and it ought to be possible for each to pursue its great national aims, not only without dangerous friction, but with sincere sympathy. Americans, he thinks, ought to understand better than they do the essentially democratic character of the British system of government. He has met Americans who believed that our system is a despotism because the country is governed by a queen, while, as a matter of fact, the appeal to the will of the people on great public questions is more speedy and direct than in the United States; and so completely popular is the form of government that a distinguished English writer, Sir Henry Maine, has pointed out how conservative, in comparison, are the safeguards provided by the American Constitution against sudden popular changes. Distinct advantages in some directions in the interests of popular government may even be claimed for a system which avoids the tremendous political struggle involved in electing a head for the state every four years. Federation would, by drawing in the influence

of colonial life, emphasize the democratic side of the British Government, and so can fairly claim the sympathy of the American people, so far as this is concerned.

It is clear, again, that America has as great a political interest in a contented Irish people as Britain herself. Lord Rosebery believes that Imperial Federation would do much to solve the great Irish difficulty, by satisfying the Irish mind in Ireland; and then, from the great mass of Irish sentiment in America, we might hope for a flow of kindly Irish feeling between our two great Anglo-Saxon countries.

For good understanding between Britain and the United States, Lord Rosebery thinks that each should follow lines of natural development. If Canada, after a hundred years of loyalty to Britain and British institutions, were absorbed into the United States, it would stimulate national rancor and hostility for many years. Friendly feeling depends on equality of position. England, being gradually stripped of her colonies, would be towards the United States somewhat in the position of a toothless parent, neglected and despised in the corner of the household. Neither for Britain, America, nor the world is such a relation desirable. Much better would it be for both to be working out on grand lines and with generous rivalry what, after all, are very similar aims. The American continent would probably be all the better for having two nations thus engaged in its development, each learning from the experience of the other. Canadian character is too strong, Canadian sentiment too deeply fixed by a century's history, to be uprooted and diverted from their course in a generation. The English people believe that Canadian attachment to Britain is growing stronger rather than weakening, and therefore there has been a remarkable change within the last ten years in the position which Canada and Canadians hold in England. Their influence is now freely admitted in Imperial Councils, and the energy shown in developing the country since Confederation has immensely lifted Canadian credit and prestige in the mother land. Finally, Lord Rosebery believes that Canadian honor is too deeply pledged to British connection to make it at all likely that modifications of commercial relations between the United States and the Dominion would be allowed to affect the political situation.

I have referred before to the extreme caution which has marked Lord Rosebery's leadership of the Federation movement. A somewhat similar caution is perhaps necessary in trying to indicate what appears to me to be the views held by leaders of the movement in England, in respect of the practical agencies by which it is possible to accomplish a closer federal union. While they recognize the possibility that British statesmen at home and in the colonies may be within measurable distance of a decisive effort of constructive statesmanship, I think that at present they look rather to a very gradual development of centralized government on imperial lines. They understand that, while so deeply engaged as the colonies are in the difficulties of organizing new territories, they could only be expected to bear a relatively small proportion of imperial burdens. As their own interests grow wider they will be willing, as all Anglo-Saxon people are, to assume their fair share. An imperial revenue, managed by an imperial council of state, containing colonial delegations, increasing in size and influence with the increase of their contributions, would form a sufficient nucleus of organization. Such a council, consulting together for common interests, would gradually gather power and intensify the feeling of

national unity. I have heard the opinion strongly expressed that, as the tendency of Parliament now is to employ itself more and more in local affairs, and as each lowering of the suffrage increases this tendency, there would be no regret felt at seeing foreign affairs gradually taken out of the hands of Parliament and intrusted to a great national council which would attract to itself the best representative ability of the Empire, and, wielding some such powers as those now possessed by the Senate of the United States, would rise to a dignity commensurate with the vastness of the questions with which it had to deal. But whatever the form in which it may be thought best to embody ultimately the unity of the British people, Lord Rosebery and others acting with him do not believe that it presents any problem superior to our statesmanship. G. R. PARKIN.

Correspondence.

INDIANA "FLOATERS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As it is doubtful whether one in fifty of your readers has the faintest conception of the open and wholesale bribery carried on by both parties in Indiana, I would call their attention to a few facts which I have collected in the interest of political science and of good government.

The number of "floaters," i. e., of marketable voters, in the entire State is said to be 30,000. However that may be, I learn from what seems reliable authority that in this (Monroe) county alone there are 600, 200 of which—I will not say of whom, for such *Stimmvieh* are hardly to be regarded as persons—live in this town; and as the town has only 3,500 inhabitants, and therefore a voting population of about 700, the magnitude of the evil is apparent. Let us see how this "floating" vote was manipulated.

It will probably amaze the readers of this communication no less than it did the writer to learn that Dudley's injunction to let none of the floaters "get away" was almost literally an order to the Republican "workers" to seize each floater, carry him to the polls, and prevent the Democratic enemy from capturing him by force and placing their ballots in his hands. Yet such is but a slight exaggeration.

In order to get a view of practical politics with his own eyes (no matter how disgusting the sight), and to see how far, if at all, our actual political system agrees with the fine phrases of the orators who tell us that in this glorious land every citizen is a sovereign and every chair a throne, the writer spent the greater part of election day at the polls, and there witnessed a most instructive, if not edifying, spectacle. But it must not be supposed that the wily workers deferred till election day their struggle for possession of the floaters. All day Monday, on the contrary, the battle raged; and when the shades of night settled down over Bloomington, probably more than a hundred of the voting cattle had been corralled in various buildings, with sentries to guard them against surprise by the foe. Among the places that served as pens for these drunken floaters may be mentioned the office of the leading Republican paper of the county and the hall of the local G. A. R. Post. The use of this hall for such a purpose drove one of the veterans to band in his resignation, and to declare that he would no longer be a member of such a body. Thus far, however, I have heard of only one who took this stand. Wagon-loads of floaters had also been transported into the surrounding country,

ready to be brought back with a rush to the polls at sunrise. As Harrison carried Indiana, and Monroe County showed heavy Republican gains, it is hardly necessary to state that the majority of these wretched creatures were captured by that Grand Old Party of Great Moral Ideas which possesses a monopoly, not only of wool, wheat, pig-iron, etc., but also of virtue.

If it were not so serious a matter, it would be amusing to learn that a lady of this place, who went to purchase butter on election day, was told that there was none for sale in town, as all had been bought the day before to butter sandwiches for floaters—for it would seem that even the Hoosier floater cannot live by free whiskey alone. Yet the latter was liberally supplied, as Bloomingtonians know to their cost, since drunken floaters, penned up in a wood-shed, caused a fire in the night which destroyed half a block of buildings and threatened with destruction a large part of the town.

I was not fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to be present when the polls were opened and the first batches of floaters (in "blocks of five," more or less) were voted, but will mention a few incidents that came under my own observation during the day. Going to the polls immediately after breakfast, I saw a dense mob of men surging around the window through which the ballots were handed. A fight had just taken place for possession of a negro floater. During the campaign he had sung (perhaps for pay) in the Democratic glee club, but had been captured the night before by the Republicans. The wicked Democrats now attempted a rescue, but in vain. The Grand Old Party of Great Moral Ideas held him firmly in their clutches, and the vote of this sovereign went to swell the plurality for Gen. Harrison. Later in the day I heard a negro loudly jeering a Democratic worker: "Oh, we sing with you, but we don't vote with you!" which merry jest was greeted with vociferous and triumphant laughter by the Republican bystanders. At another precinct I saw a Republican worker drive up in a buggy, squeezed in between two filthy negroes, and deliberately place Republican ballots in their hands in full view of the assembled crowd, the negroes handing in the ballots through the window without even alighting from the buggy.

In 1880 one "crisp two dollar bill" was said to be the price of a Hoosier vote; but in 1888 the average was probably three glittering five-dollar gold-pieces. The Bloomington butchers report that, since the election, negroes have offered many of these yellow coins in payment for meat. It must not be supposed, however, that negroes are the only purchasable voters in these parts. The Hoosier floater is but too frequently neither negro nor foreigner, but your genuine free-born American sovereign.

I have related the above concrete facts in some detail because I believe that the thinking men of the country should know them, and should ponder earnestly upon a remedy, if there be one. The incubus of universal suffrage could hardly be shaken off without a bloody revolution, but undoubtedly legislation might palliate the evil. There are some objections to the abolition of the electoral system and the substitution for it of direct popular vote for President; but it would at least render useless the concentration of enormous sums of money upon doubtful States. Even Matt. Quay would find it difficult to purchase the entire country. But much could be done by the passage of such election laws as would prohibit more than one voter from approaching the polls at a time, and would thus render the ballot really secret.

R. H. DABNEY.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, IND.,
November 17, 1888.

THE COLORED VOTE IN THE NORTHERN STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: The statistics of the immense colored vote in the old slave States are common knowledge everywhere, but few persons probably have investigated the numbers and influence of the colored vote in the North, or are prepared to estimate its significance in the election just held.

The census of 1880 shows the number of white and colored males over twenty-one years of age in the States named below to have been as follows:

States.	White.	Colored
Connecticut.....	163,719	3,532
Rhode Island.....	75,012	1,846
New York.....	1,388,692	20,059
New Jersey.....	280,965	10,470
Ohio.....	804,371	21,708
Indiana.....	487,718	10,739
Illinois.....	759,161	13,086
Michigan.....	461,557	6,139
Nevada.....	25,633	5,632
California.....	262,583	66,809

It is a fair presumption that the number of colored males over twenty-one years in these States is at least as great now as in 1880, since, in addition to natural increase, there has been a considerable emigration from the Southern States; and as there are few, if any, foreign-born negroes, it is also fair to presume that they are all voters, and that nine-tenths of them vote with the Republican party, having none of the associations and traditions which in the South still connect many of them with their former masters and have led to business relations and political alliances.

Of the States named above, only Connecticut and New Jersey gave their electoral vote to Cleveland, all the others voting for Harrison, and their respective majorities being unofficially given by the Republican press as follows:

Rhode Island.....	4,427
New York.....	10,000 to 11,000
Ohio.....	20,000 to 25,000
Indiana.....	2,438
Illinois.....	15,000 to 18,000
Michigan.....	15,000 to 20,000
Nevada.....	1,500 to 2,000
California.....	5,000 to 8,000

It will be seen that Harrison's majorities, as estimated above, are, in the States of New York, Indiana, Nevada, and California, less than their respective colored votes; and if these estimates should be sustained by the official figures, it will be apparent that Harrison's success in those States is due to the colored vote, and that if it were eliminated Cleveland would have received their 62 electoral votes, which, added to the 168 votes he did receive, would give a total of 230 out of 401.

Or, confining the analysis to the State of New York alone, in which there can be no possible question of the correctness of the argument, her 36 votes would have given Cleveland 204, thus insuring his election.

Here is presented the singular spectacle of 20,000 colored voters in the Empire State of the North determining the result of a Presidential election for eight millions of white voters in 38 States; and not only so, but also determining, certainly for four years, and possibly for an indefinite period, the course of the Government upon the gravest question of public policy ever presented to the intelligence of the American people.

This letter has no purpose to present an argument against negro suffrage, which is one of the inevitable evils of our system of government to-day; but its purpose is, if possible, to aid the white voters of the country to realize the vital importance of the intelligent and con-

scientious exercise of their own right of suffrage. Yours respectfully,

JAMES A. PEARCE.

CHESTERTOWN, MD., November 12, 1888.

THE SECTIONAL BREAK-UP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: To a thinking man of either party, one of the most important and most welcome incidents of the late election is the fact that the Republicans carried West Virginia. Still more pleased would all patriots have been had the great northwestern States of Illinois and Minnesota given Democratic majorities, and old Virginia and Tennessee, on the other hand, come into the Republican ranks, which positions these last four States would apparently occupy did their citizens actually vote on the "tariff" as the paramount question. So long as the idea of a "solid South" lingers as a possibility, even, in the minds of our people, it appears impossible to obtain their votes on an economic question. In Kentucky, for example, notwithstanding the *Courier-Journal*, the protection idea has unfortunately obtained a strong foothold; yet, in the result at the polls, this fact is barely visible: men talk protection, but vote the straight Democratic ticket. The natural consequence of this is, that in Minnesota men talk free trade and vote the Republican ticket.

The Democratic party has not gone far enough. Their platform calls for tariff reform, but they still shelter under their banner Randall and his following. The Mills Bill and the President's letter both presented the question strongly to the people; but the party organs, in great part, emphasized most strongly—in one the phrase, "We are entering on no crusade of free trade"; in the other, the fact that the average reduction of duties was only five per cent. While Democratic leaders continue to apologize for raising the only issue which is before the country, that issue cannot constitute the dividing line; the party still remains an association of men who cling together because they have voted on the same side since the times of Buchanan, and their fathers, perhaps, before them voted for Jackson and Van Buren. In this company Republican reformers do not feel at home, and can very rarely be persuaded to remain. The best chance for the party is to make a bold stand for free trade without disguise, and trust to the sense of the people, irrespective of the latitude of their homes.

LINCOLN D.

LOUISVILLE, November 12, 1888.

UNITY IN TARIFF REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: In your issue of November 15 you say: "The recent election has shown where the tariff-reform clubs can put in their most effective work, namely, among the workmen of the large cities."

If I may be allowed to add a few suggestions, based upon an experience gained in both public and private discussion of the subject, as to how the work of tariff-reform clubs and tariff reformers can be put in most effectively, I would say, to begin with, that I think they should first agree to work together for a specific purpose. As it now is, some of the friends of "tariff reform" advocate "free trade," and others "tariff reduction" simply, a "tariff for revenue only," or a "tariff for revenue with incidental protection," etc., etc.; and thus the advantage of concert of action, so well appreciated and so much relied on by the opponents of any tariff reform, is entirely lost to them.

If, on the other hand, our tariff reformers should all agree that, whatever their ultimate action might be, they would combine now for the single purpose of advocating the immediate reduction of our tariff laws to a *strictly protective* basis, they would thereby secure the hearty coöperation of many an honest believer in "protection" who would not agree to a reduction on any other basis. The average candidate for a seat in Congress two years hence, if not the members recently elected, would, with the aid of these honest allies, be readily made to understand the difference between *tariffs for protection* and *tariffs for bounties with incidental protection*, and the bounties would soon "go." Such a reduction would prove a great boon to the unprotected consumers, while a present attempt at anything beyond would afford sufficient pretext to the "friends of protection" to confine their open opposition to any reduction whatever. The "free trade" red rag should, therefore, no longer be flaunted in the face of the "protectionist" bull.

Starting, then, with such a specific purpose, the tariff reformers should bend their energies to convince the unenlightened voters:

(1.) That "the tariff" is not a unit, but an aggregation of particulars, each of which must be scrutinized separately.

(2.) That the "principle of protection" requires only the imposition of such a tariff or tax upon a competing foreign production as will raise its cost to that of the like domestic production.

(3.) That when any tariff goes beyond the limit of that principle, the excess, in so far as it enhances the price of the domestic article, operates solely as an unalloyed tax upon the consumer and a pure benediction to the domestic producer.

(4.) That many of our tariffs are now open to such an objection—some because they were made so originally, and others because they have become so through a change of circumstances—and that the effect in the aggregate is to lay a heavy burden of taxation upon the people.

(5.) That "tariff reform" means the reduction of these excessive tariffs to the limit of the principle of protection, and a consequent reduction in the price of the articles named in such tariffs, whether of foreign or domestic production.

(6.) That neither a reduction of the national revenues nor the abolition of "the surplus" is necessarily synonymous with or productive of "tariff reform."

(7.) That "those who think alike should act together," at least in voting for members of Congress.

I am not unmindful of the fact that the foregoing suggestions omit any reference to the subject of adding "raw materials" to the "free list"; but since many of the "friends of protection," actuated by an enlightened self-interest, are calling for "free raw materials," I think we may, for the present, leave the advocacy of that branch of "tariff reform" to them.

STEPHEN H. TYNG.

BOSTON, November 19, 1888.

A FREE-TRADE PARTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: Many Democrats are blaming President Cleveland for precipitating the party into opposition to protection, and thus leading them to defeat. I think it is easy to see that Democratic defeat is due, not to the act of this brave, honest, and patriotic leader, but to the failure of the party to give him adequate support.

Neither in the Mills Bill nor in campaign documents and speeches, excepting by Mr. Thurman and a few others, was the true note sounded. It should have been an aggressive war-cry against the whole "protective system." It degenerated into a defensive appeal against the charge of being "free traders." On the other side, protection fought with the desperation born of danger, and with all the weapons which monopoly can command.

After a brief interregnum, the Republicans once more come back to power, a wiser party than when they left it. What remains to the Democracy? Nothing but to fall again into the accustomed rut of opposition. It has no aims, no issues, no aspirations which can lift it again to power. Only some egregious blunder on the part of the victorious party can avail; and this, if it have anything left of the wisdom of the serpent, it will take good care to avoid.

But there are within both parties, and outside of either, a large and increasing number who are ill-satisfied with the Republican "system," on the one hand, and with Democratic pusillanimity on the other. These would gladly serve under the standard of free trade, if borne by a competent leader. This body includes the philosophical and scientific minds of the country, as well as a noble band of young men, educated in just principles of political economy. They see in the old Saracen device, adopted from the feudal age, an incubus upon our constitutional liberties, and a source of oppression, corruption, and disorders throughout the body politic. They see in free trade, pure and absolute, the remedy for these evils, and the highway to the restoration of our foreign commerce and our languishing agriculture, and of the greatest good to the greatest number. That the good work has begun is evident from the alarm of the enemy. Under vigorous instruction it will go on, until an educated people are as eager to be emancipated from the new slavery as they were from the old.

Will not you, Mr. Nation, sound this keynote, and give your powerful aid towards the desired consummation? The conflict may be arduous and long, but "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." Error is already wounded, and will die amid her worshippers. Is it too soon to organize a new party, bearing on its banner "Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Trade"?

B. H.

DETROIT, November 15, 1888.

[As was said long ago of another and kindred reform, free trade is not a movement, but an attitude of mind. It will have been achieved in this country whenever Congress adopts the principle never to vote another tax with a "protective" intent—i. e., for the benefit of a class. The reduction of the existing tariff then becomes merely a question of time and details, following well-defined lines. Time may show that neither of our two great parties can be forced into this attitude; but we do not yet despair of them. —ED. NATION.]

"NOT THAT KIND OF MAN."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A well-informed Indianapolis correspondent of the Chicago *Herald* says that "President Cleveland does not escape criticism entirely," for the late defeat, namely, though his motives are respected. Hundreds of Democrats have not recovered from the disappointment immediately following his election, when

they saw Republicans retaining positions which they "believed they themselves had earned by years of fealty to the party's principles. Harrison's friends," continues this correspondent, "declare that he will make no mistake of this kind; that he will place Republicans in all positions of honor and trust in the Government, and will thus strengthen the party and himself by rewarding none but those who can be depended upon to do their duty as partisans."

I have many friends in Indiana, and the universal feeling is that Mr. Harrison intends to strengthen (?) himself and his party by rewarding his partisans with the offices of the country—put none but Republicans on guard. In the case of the post-office in this city, Mr. Cleveland allowed the incumbent to serve out his term, which had a year to run, although the postmaster was editor of the Republican paper, which was constantly abusing the President and his policy. Even now, one-half the post-office employees and letter-carriers are Republicans, as are also the postal clerks in this vicinity.

The suggestion that *any* Democrat, however worthy and useful, will be allowed to retain his position after about next April, is received in this part of the country with derision. They say, "Harrison is not that kind of a man."

Yours truly, B. W. W.

BURLINGTON, IOWA, November 13, 1888.

HEREDITARY FEAR OF ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you not say something with regard to heredity in politics? Observation here leads me to believe there exists among a certain class of native Americans an unreasoning fear of England, similar to that a quiet horse shows when he smells the odor of the wild beasts in a menagerie, though they are invisible to him. I have been taught that a horse inherits the fear from his wild ancestors, and I am disposed to think that a New Englander's comes down to him from the early days of the Republic.

One of my neighbors lays it down as "a lor," that "whatever England wants is bad for the United States"; and, although he is a graduate of the Harvard Scientific School, one might judge from his ordinary political outgivings that he, in his heart, believes Queen Victoria never goes out for a drive without a bandanna in her reticule, and that the whole of England is to-day excited over the possible changes in our tariff. Very truly yours,

P. L.

CUMBERLAND, MD., November 12, 1888.

THAT DENVER CITY CONTRACT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A few days prior to election you quoted from a Western paper an article referring to the fact that an English concern had entered into competition with a large number of American foundries for 5,000 tons of castings for a cable railroad in Denver, Col., and that this English concern had underbid its American rivals and had received the contract. You finally dismissed it with the remark that you believed the story was a campaign falsehood. I admit I was of that opinion myself, but the *Iron Age* (November 1) gives a full statement of this affair, and I think it is probably correct in its statement; at least, as the *Iron Age* puts it, the story seems to bear the evidence of truth. While its version differs considerably from that given by the Western paper, the substance of both is that an English foundry has underbid the lowest American bidder for this work, and is to ship to this country 5,000 tons of castings (on which there is a duty of 45 per

cent. ad valorem) and deliver them in Denver for less money than our Chicago foundries were able (or willing) to do.

I must admit that this is a remarkable instance of what our high-tariff friends call foreign competition.

I wish you would tell your readers, of whom I am one, how this competition is possible, with our 45 per cent. tariff, and what we might expect under a lower tariff. The Mills bill makes 5 per cent. reduction on this class of goods. Yours respectfully,

JOHN H. PIPER.

NOVEMBER 12.

[It is not the Mills bill, but the Senate substitute, that makes a reduction of the duty on iron castings, and herein we think that the Senate bill is preferable to the Mills bill.]

We said that if the Chicago foundrymen could not compete at Denver with English foundrymen, who are handicapped with a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem, or of \$28 per ton, as the case may be, they were greater slovens than we had taken them for. The basis of the cost of castings is the cost of pig-iron, which the *Iron Age* puts at \$16 per ton in Chicago. The cost in Glasgow, Scotland, is 41s. 6d. per ton, equal to \$10. Therefore, the disadvantage of the Chicago foundryman at the outset is \$6 per ton, against which he has the advantage of \$28 per ton duty, a net protection of \$22 per ton. Now where does all this bonus go to? Not to labor. We have not the figures of comparative wages in English and American foundry work before us, but we have those of blast-furnace work, in a recent consular report (No. 49, Department of State), from which it appears that the labor cost of pig-iron in Middlesbrough, England, is 79 cents per ton, and in eastern Pennsylvania \$1.25 per ton; difference, 48 cents per ton. The difference between the two countries in the labor cost of castings cannot be very much greater, but we will suppose that it is \$1 per ton. Then we have \$6 difference in pig-iron and \$1 difference in labor, total \$7, against a duty of \$28. What becomes of the other \$21 of net protection? The *Iron Age* says that the English foundrymen got a freight rate of \$7 a ton from Liverpool to Denver via Galveston, while the railroad charge from Chicago to Denver was \$9 per ton. That is a question which evidently has no relation to the tariff, but if we count it in, it subtracts \$2 more from the net protection, leaving \$19 per ton bonus, or considerably more than the total cost of the raw material, pig-iron.

There is some mystery about this affair which we do not attempt to penetrate, and the mystery deepens when we read in the trade journals almost every day that American firms have been awarded contracts for iron bridges and for locomotives in Australia, Chili, and other foreign countries where they are obliged to compete with English contractors on equal terms. We should say that if our foundrymen could not compete with English firms in the interior of the United States under the present duty, in the second century of the republic, it was the best possible evidence that protection was a failure as to that particular branch of industry, and that it was high time

to try some other system; for is not the buyer of castings also an American citizen and entitled to some consideration? Even the Denver Cable Railway Company has some rights which white men are bound to respect.—ED. NATION.]

"FORESIGHT AND HINDSIGHT."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of May 24 a correspondent gave a striking illustration of the fact that "even the greatest of historians may not write history in advance without incurring some danger to his fame for philosophical acumen." The illustration was in the form of a quotation from a speech made by Lord Macaulay in 1845, when he declared that the chances of the African race were better in Brazil than in the United States, and prophesied that the black population of Brazil would be freed before that of the United States.

During a second perusal recently of 'The Last Days of Pompeii,' I noted a similar "nod" on the part of the first Lord Lytton. In Chapter 4 of Book II he expresses his opinion upon the unification of Italy as follows:

"Italy, Italy (while I write your skies are over me, your seas flow beneath my feet), listen not to the blind policy which would unite all your crested cities, mourning for their republics, into one empire. False, pernicious delusion! Your only hope of regeneration is in division. Florence, Milan, Venice, Genoa may be free once more, if each is free. But dream not of freedom for the whole while you enslave the parts; the heart must be the centre of the system, the blood must circulate freely everywhere, and in vast communities you behold but a bloated and feeble giant, whose brain is imbecile, whose limbs are dead, and who pays in disease and weakness the penalty of transcending the natural proportions of health and vigor."

It may possibly be too early yet to decide whether or not the unification of Italy was a "pernicious delusion"; but the "blind policy" of Victor Emanuel and Cavour seems thus far to have brought happiness and prosperity, and "regeneration" appears to have been accomplished, not "in division," but in a united Italy. Thus novelists as well as historians, being mortal, sometimes make mistakes.

MITO, JAPAN, October 1, 1888.

CLEON.

MODERN GREEK IN THE TEACHING OF ANCIENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was much interested in the communication from "A. H." in the last number of the *Nation*, respecting his reading of the modern Greek in his classes. I quite agree with him that we have in the living language of to-day a resource for giving a new and fresh interest to the ancient tongue, and I can parallel the satisfactory results of which he speaks with those which I have obtained in some of my own advanced classes. It seems to me that the ideal course in Greek should take notice of the language in every phase of its history, and certainly in any such survey the modern Greek must come in with its claims. Claims it certainly has upon us, in view of the remarkable resurrection of Greece in the present century, since the recovery of her independence after four centuries of slavery to the Turks. The fact, too, that we have now an American School of Classical Studies at Athens must give to all American students of Greek a special interest in all that pertains to the Greece of to-day, and hence to the present form of her language.

W. H. APPLETON.

SWARTMORE COLLEGE, PA.

THE FEMALE INTELLECT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If Prof. Cope would like to supplement his "general observation" with a few facts, he may be interested in knowing that of the last graduating class at Cornell University, ten per cent. were women, but that those women won sixty per cent. (three out of five) of the fellowships. The subjects in which they were so successful were botany, architecture, and mathematics. President Adams, in addressing the Association of Collegiate Alumnae which met at Cornell last month, said that the women regularly stand a little higher than the men in the university classes. Does it not show a "pronounced frailty of the reasoning faculty" on the part of Prof. Cope, that he does not perceive the bearing of the many facts of this nature which, nowadays, are to be had for the seeking?

M.

TEACHER AND COMMUNITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been struck by the little influence exerted by our teachers in this city, and have wondered if it is due to our method of employing them. We carry out the plan of "protection to home industries" till it amounts to practical prohibition. Out of eighty teachers employed in our public schools, all except sixteen have been educated here in our High School. Of the sixteen educated elsewhere, five are said to be graduates of colleges bestowing degrees.

Our method of appointment to fill vacancies is as follows: Graduates of the High School wishing to teach in the city schools must attend the Training School one year. The Training School is a central primary school of about sixty children, on whom the teachers practise. After the school is dismissed, the teachers recite to the principal one hour each day. A record of each teacher is kept, and appointments are made in the order of standing. So far as is practicable, each teacher is sent to the district nearest her home, and, hence, where she attended school a few years before.

A CITIZEN.

BURLINGTON, IOWA, November 12, 1888.

THE MYSTERY OF THE CALCULUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The review of Newcomb's 'Calculus' in your last number treats of the old question, Why do so few of our college boys study the Calculus? and the other question, Why do so few men from college, even if they studied it there, remember anything of it in after life? One cause, which I discussed in a letter published by you some years ago, is found in the absurd way in which mathematics is taught in all or nearly all our schools and colleges—the interminable mental gymnastics that have to be gone through before the really useful, and at the same time the truly sublime, parts of the science are reached. Some of the latest text-books have rather multiplied than diminished the old mass of rubbish, under the head of "modern" and of "descriptive" geometry, and by the exuberantly full treatment of the higher algebraic equations, which can hardly ever be put to any use. These are put on top of the wretched puzzles that are to be solved by plain and quadratic equations, and they tire most boys and young men with the study of the noblest of sciences, long before they come to the portals of the much-dreaded

Calculus. It is like the case of the proverbial Dutchman, who took a mile's start for jumping a ditch, and was exhausted and out of breath when he reached it.

I recollect that I began to learn the Calculus, without a teacher, before I was ten years old, from an old book—I believe it was Abel Birja's Algebra—by a method which perhaps was not strictly scientific, but very simple and easily understood. The "differential" was defined as the increment of a quantity, which is so small that its higher powers may be disregarded when compared with the first. If anybody objects to the supposed inaccuracy, he is told that if he stickles for any particular degree of exactness, he can always assume his differential small enough to satisfy his own standard. This notion of an increment "so small that, etc.," is called for short "infinitely small," and may be of the first, second, or any higher degree, according as products or powers occur, and you get along with it splendidly in solving all problems. When I got older I came across an ex-Professor of Mathematics, who told me that these notions were all wrong, and that, according to Lagrange, the differential quotient is nothing but the coefficient of the second term in the development of a function, and that I must have nothing to do with infinitely small or infinitely great. I took "infinite" pains to recast all my ideas on the subject, and had great trouble to get rid of "those infinitely small arcs which may be treated as straight lines." I found afterwards that Lagrange himself, in his series for periodic functions, makes very free use of the infinitely great and small.

But to your reviewer, who says that these first conceptions are the main difficulties and the only difficulties in the Differential and Integral Calculus, I cannot give my assent. In the first place, old geometry, before the days of Newton and Leibnitz, presented the same difficulties of the infinitely small and great as the modern Calculus when applied to figures in space. The circle was always a polygon of an infinite number of sides; the sphere, an aggregate of a doubly infinite number of pyramids, each standing on a doubly infinitesimal basis. The difference between the old treatment and the new is this only: that before the days of the Calculus each curved line, or curved surface, or round body had to be treated separately, and the harsh reasoning about infinitesimals had to be applied to it in its own way, the solution being always clumsy and often impossible; whereas we now have a method which goes right through all obstacles; and, the meaning of the symbols d and f being once understood, the student can generally do without any mention of the infinitely great or small.

In the second place, I do not admit that, after the learner has grasped the method and the meaning of the symbols, his path is all smooth and strewn with roses. It is, indeed, all plain sailing for a while, say, as far as most of the college courses go—the quadrature and rectification of plane curves, and the measurement of the surfaces and volumes of bodies of revolution. But a little further on lie definite integrals, elliptic functions, the solution of differential equations, variations, calculus of finite differences, series for periodic functions, etc.; and all these branches are necessary for the student who wishes to apply his mathematics to the study of physics and mechanics, or to the theory of probabilities. Even the differential equations from which the planetary orbit is derived, though they can be solved by a sort of sleight-of-hand, without need of the general method for solving such equations,

are pretty tough. In fact, Calculus means "stone," and the student's path becomes here right stony.

And this brings me to one of the objections made by the unmathematical mind to the well-known proposition, that the planetary curve is formed by two forces, and by these alone; the force of inertia driving along a straight line with the acquired velocity and the incessant or accelerative force of attraction. A highly educated man, who has even a smattering of Calculus, asked me this morning: "In a circular or nearly circular orbit, where the attractive force is always at, or nearly at, right angles to the inertia, is not the diagonal formed by the parallelogram of forces always greater than the one side of the parallelogram due to the inertia alone? Why, then, does not the velocity of the planet increase all the time?"

Who can answer this without mixing in his explanation infinitely small quantities of the second order? I await a reply. L. N. D.

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 21, 1888.

Notes.

GINN & Co., Boston, have in press a 'Vocabulary to the First Six Books of Homer's Iliad,' by Prof. Thomas D. Seymour of Yale. It has been made at first hand. The antiquities will be illustrated by woodcuts.

White & Allen announce an edition of Anster's translation of 'Faust' (the first in English verse), with colored illustrations after aquarelles by Frank M. Gregory, along with many black-and-white designs; also, 'P. T. Barnum's Circus, Museum, and Menagerie,' compiled by Mr. Barnum himself and Sarah J. Burke, with colored prints.

'The Walks Abroad of Two Young Naturalists,' from the French of Charles Beaugrand, with numerous plates and vignettes, will be published directly by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Thomas Whittaker has nearly ready 'Stray Leaves of Literature,' by Frederick Saunders of the Astor Library.

Brentano will publish 'The Song of the Palm, and Other Poems,' by Tracy Robinson.

Robert Clarke & Co.'s list of new books includes a 'Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789-90,' by Maj. Samuel S. Forman of New Jersey, edited, with a memoir, by Lyman C. Draper; 'Adventures of Pioneer Children; or, Life in the Wilderness,' by E. Fenwick Colerick; a 'Manual for Building and Loan Associations,' by Henry S. Rosenthal; and 'Historic Families of Kentucky,' First Series, by Thomas Marshall Green.

Harper & Bros. publish directly a new novel, 'A Christmas Rose: a Blossom in Seven Petals,' by Robert Edward Francillon; and 'Colonel Quaritch, V.C.,' by Rider Haggard.

'New Amsterdam—New Orange—New York' is the title of a brochure now in the hands of the printer, and compiled by Gen. Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, N. Y. The material has been gathered from a large number of unpublished folio manuscript volumes of public records.

B. Westermann & Co. will shortly receive 'Die Gred,' a new historical romance by Georg Ebers, of which Nuremberg is the scene.

The Routledge edition of Victor Hugo has received a fresh enlargement by the publication of 'The Man Who Laughs,' in two volumes. We can add nothing to what we have said of the other works in this handsomely printed series, except that the illustrations

deserve more praise than those in the 'Wandering Jew.' Their defects are such as they share with the monstrous creation whose scene is in England, but whose characters and incidents form anything but an "historical novel." Doré would have been a proper designer in this instance; and one artist of genius would have been worth the two who have actually divided the task.

The newly completed volume of the *Magazine of Art* comes to us bound from Cassell & Co. Its contents have the usual variety: scenes from nature in New Zealand, Exmoor, Fontainebleau; specimens of local art galleries and current exhibitions; modern artists and their works; costumes, beautifully illustrated; Irish types and traits; art on the stage, with a timely portrait of Miss Anderson as *Hermione*, etc., etc. There is a not remarkable series of Napoleon portraits; another, somewhat more *recherché*, of Dickens portraits. Best of all the pictorial examples is the engraving after Paul Dubois's masterly bust of Pasteur; Auguste Rodin is also forcibly represented. A chalk drawing by Watts of his "Love and Death," and a woodcut after his "Orpheus and Eurydice," further lend distinction to this volume, which has its monthly photogravure of some painting.

The *Bookworm* (London: Elliott Stock; New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son) makes so pretty a bound volume that it is a pity not to be able to speak very highly of the contents of this magazine. We have found it in this, its first year, scrappy and inorganic, with only by accident a special article possessing some degree of interest. This would be more apparent in a classified table of contents, which is lacking, than it is in the index.

Our monthly notice of the *Century* for the past six months precludes the necessity of any extended remarks on the fourteenth volume (May-October), which lies before us. One observation, however, will be pertinent: the multifarious contents need a better key than the table supplied at the beginning. Take Mr. Kennan's six related articles on Siberia and its exiles: not more than three are grouped together. The papers on the civil war are likewise mingled indiscriminately with other articles in the alphabet lottery. We could further wish to see an index to the more important engravings, and think the portraits, as a class, worth a complete list to themselves.

Two volumes, or parts, contain the twelvemonth (1887-88) of *St. Nicholas*, in whose familiar physiognomy, if there is anything new to be noted, it may be the number of process engravings from living models—an endless resource for a magazine of this character. We fulfil a promise in calling the editor's attention to the perilously small type in which the letters of correspondents are printed. There is nothing imaginative in supposing them to be often read by young incautious eyes in the fading twilight, or by dim or glaring lamplight.

Mr. Henry T. Coates's 'Fireside Encyclopædia of Poetry' (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates) comes to us in its twelfth-seventh edition. It has been very extensively overhauled and considerably enlarged. Hardly any of the authors and pieces omitted to gain room would be missed, even if it cannot be said that they are always replaced by their betters. Bernard Barton, William Beattie, William Congreve, Erasmus Darwin, Austin Dobson, Ebenezer Elliott, and Andrew Lang are some of the British new-comers; Alice Cary, C. P. Cranch, Julia Dorr, Edward Everett, J. T. Fields, Paul H. Hayne, J. G. Holland, R. T. S. Lowell, J. J. Piatt, Henry Timrod, and William Winter some of the American. One misses here R. W. Gil-

der and Sidney Lanier, to mention no others. The collection remains about what it was before, albeit somewhat fresher—not among the best in a critical sense, but from its comprehensiveness a useful supplement to similar collections. The index has been rather neglected. "Gilfillin," "Cenneck," and "Wm. Joseph Irons" stand for Gilfillan, Cennick, and Josiah. The year of Mary Howitt's death might have been inserted. The steel engravings of the first edition have given way, to advantage, to excellent portraits of the poets on wood, with facsimiles of their manuscripts.

It can only be necessary to mention the appearance of the third volume of Poor's annual 'Directory of Railway Officials,' a supplement to the Manual. The thoroughness and authority of this list of the personnel of our railway service are indisputable.

'Notable Workers in Humble Life' (T. Nelson & Sons), by the Rev. E. N. Hoare, consists of sketches of eight in many respects very remarkable men. The stories of four, at least, are familiar to most, viz., those of the weaver, John Duncan, who became a well-known botanist; of the baker of Thur-o, Robert Dick, whose knowledge of geology astonished Sir Roderick Murchison; of Thomas Edward, the shoemaker-naturalist; and of the Portsmouth cobbler, John Pounds, whose work in teaching poor children led to the formation of Ragged Schools. The lives of the itinerant lecturers and exhorters, John Ashworth, Thomas Cooper, author of the 'Purgatory of Suicides,' and Robert Flockhart, soldier and street-preacher in Edinburgh, will probably be new to the majority of readers. The closing chapter is devoted to an account of the self-sacrificing labors of George Smith of Coalville, in securing legislation for the protection of children employed in brick-yards and on canal-boats, as well as of his as yet ineffectual efforts to obtain similar protection for thirty thousand gipsy children who roam through Great Britain. The author is in almost every case able to let the subjects of his sketches tell the principal parts of their story in their own language, which they often do in a style remarkable for its simplicity as well as its power of expression.

We can recommend to teachers of advanced classes a work recently issued from the press of Waterman & Amee, Cambridge, prepared by Dr. Benjamin Rand, of Harvard University. It is entitled 'Selections Illustrating Economic History Since the seven Years' War'; and is intended to furnish a course of reading upon the economic life of the principal industrial nations for the last century or more. Its first topic is "Leading Sections from the English Navigation Acts"; the second, "The Colonial Policy of Europe" (taken from the fourth book of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations'); then follow the "Great Inventions," from Walpole's 'History of England'; "The Economic Causes of the French Revolution," from Von Sybel's 'French Revolution'; "The Emancipating Edict of Stein," from Seeley's 'Life and Times of Stein,' and "The Orders in Council," from Levi's 'History of British Commerce.' There are other extracts, designed to give an idea of English finance from 1793 to 1815, of the English Corn Laws, of the new gold supply after 1848, of the German Zollverein, of the French economic affairs under the Second Empire; of the French indemnity paid to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, and the application of it by Germany; of industrial progress in Italy, of European public debts, and of our own industrial growth. All the extracts are from the most approved authorities, such as Cairnes, Levasseur, Neymarck, Kolb, and the Tenth Census of the United States. Dr. Rand's

work has been done in the most critical and painstaking manner. He has displayed excellent judgment, not only in his selection of sources, but also in the length and the appropriate character of the extracts which he has made from them. Though its chief worth will be appreciated more by students of economics, the volume will be of great value to general readers of history.

A valuable contribution to the study of mediæval institutions is the 'Étude sur l'histoire des alleux en France,' by Émile Chénon of Rennes (Paris: Larose, 1888). The facts here developed as to allodial property in France are somewhat of a surprise to those of us who have been accustomed to consider the maxim, *Nulle terre sans seigneur*, as the governing principle of landed property in France. M. Chénon shows that it was only in a small part of the country that this rule prevailed. A map *des pays allodiaux en France* gives only Brittany and the countries of Blois, Beauvais, and Boulogne as *pays anti-allodiaux*, in which this maxim is a governing one. A belt of country embracing the entire east and south is given as *pays allodiaux*, in which the contrary rule prevails—*Nul seigneur sans titre*; while most of the western provinces are called *pays censuels*, in which the rule is, *Nul alleu sans titre*, feudal tenure being simply a matter of presumption, *juris tantum*. The allodial lands themselves are classified (p. 38) as *alleux souverains, justiciers, et simples*. The first class are true sovereignties, in which the proprietor exercises all regalian rights, as Boisbelle in Berry, the princes of which declared that they held only *de Dieu, de leur épêe, et du lignage*. Of this class is the famous kingdom of Yvetot, celebrated by Béranger, which did not lose its sovereignty until 1553. The proprietors of the *alleux justiciers* exercised a similar authority, but only, as the great feudatories did, by special grant, being still subject to the royal authority—the rights of justice being held as a fief. The *alleux simples* were allodial merely as property, being subject, in point of the administration of justice, to the seigneuries within which they were situated.

The four articles of the *English Historical Review* for October are shorter than the average, and perhaps of less general interest. The first article, "The Settlement of Australia," by E. C. K. Gower, fills only ten pages, with an appendix. Then follows "The Tomb of Dante," by E. Moore, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. This interesting paper describes the discovery of the bones of Dante in 1865, and discusses the problem of his tomb. "Elizabethan Presbyterianism," by William A. Shaw, considers that phrase of Presbyterianism, especially associated with the name of Cartwright, which belonged to the sixteenth century. The movement, we are told, "stands out from the history of Elizabethan dissent as an abrupt expansion with a distinctly separate genesis, and effective of no results except in so far as it influenced the beginnings of independent separation." Lieut. Col. W. G. Ross, in "The Battle of Naseby," examines the various accounts of the numbers engaged on both sides, and concludes that the army of the Parliament numbered some 13,500 men, that of the King not above 8,000. Of the lesser papers, reviews, etc., which follow, perhaps the most interesting, at least to American readers, is an elaborate review by Lord Acton of Lea's 'History of the Inquisition.' "As a philosophy of religious persecution," he says, "the book is inadequate. The derivation of sects, though resting always upon good supports, stands out from an indistinct background of dogmatic his-

tory. The intruding maxims, darkened by shadows of earth, fail to insure at all times the objective and delicate handling of mediæval theory. But the vital parts are protected by a panoply of mail. From the Albigensian crusade to the fall of the Templars, and to that Franciscan movement in which the key to Dante lies, the design and organization, the activity and decline of the Inquisition constitute a sound and solid structure that will survive the censure of all critics." This judgment from a scholar of high rank, himself a Catholic, seems worthy to cite.

Mr. H. H. Johnston discusses, in his characteristic and entertaining way, in the November *Fortnightly*, the question of the probable position of the Emin Pasha relief expedition. He agrees with almost all African authorities that Stanley has joined the German governor, and suggests three alternative courses which he may be pursuing. In conjunction with Emin, he may be operating to the northward of the province of the latter against the Mahdi's forces, thus giving rise to the rumors of the "White Pasha"; he may be simply waiting in the Nile valley for the expected reinforcements under Major Barttelot, meantime helping Emin in the reorganization of his dominions; or he may be marching to the westward, through the provinces of Darfur and Wadai, to the basin of the Niger. Mr. Johnston might have added the fourth conjecture, which is perhaps more probable than this last, that he is proceeding by the west of Lake Victoria Nyanza to Msalala, near its southern extremity, where a depot of supplies for him has been established. Mr. Johnston gives an interesting account of Mr. Stanley's kindly methods of dealing with savages, and incidentally remarks that, from his personal observations on the Congo, he knows that the loss of life during that first famous passage of the river was far less than Stanley himself represents it in his 'Dark Continent.'

The second number of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, for October, has come to hand. The popular portion of its contents is relatively small this month. The publishers are T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh.

Babyhood rounds out its fourth volume with a New York and London imprint—an American notion in journalism transported across seas in return for the many the mother country has given us. The leading title is explained in a sub-title: "A Monthly Magazine for Mothers, devoted to the care of infants and young children, and the general interests of the nursery." It has been admirably conducted from the start, and its bound volumes form a domestic library of quite uncommon value. It is a publication of which physicians should be the best friends and advertisers.

English medical skill was in request at the Prussian court eighty-five years ago, when Louise, the mother of the late Emperor William, was still alive. This gracious and heroic lady had great confidence in a Dr. Brown, whom she employed in her own case, and in 1803 desired to attend the Russian Princess Helen, sister of the Emperor Alexander I., during what proved to be her fatal illness. In the current *Vom Fels zum Meer* (F. W. Christern), Dr. G. Egelhaaf communicates letters from the Queen to Brown, Brown's replies, and other correspondence relating to the case in question, together with translations of a part of the physician's diary. Louise's letters are also translated; for she wrote in French, as one may see from the half-dozen examples given in curious facsimile, even to the fancy borders and colored edges of the Queen's note-paper. They are naturally full of tender sympathy for a bosom friend, and are a pleasant confirmation of the Queen's

traditional character. Their publication will not shock the Chancellor.

The Bufford Sons Lithographic Co., 335 Broadway, send us a well-executed life-size portrait of Mrs. Benjamin Harrison.

The Woman's College of Baltimore was opened on November 13, with interesting ceremonies. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University made an admirable address, touching upon the various ways in which the higher education can make life richer and fuller—a theme which cannot be too frequently preached upon, provided it be done with the simplicity and convincingness which characterized this occasion.

Close upon the above event comes the cheering announcement that the Trustees of Columbia College have consented to the establishment of an affiliated college for women—an "annex," to use the cant expression. It will make no draft on the resources of the college, depending entirely on endowments and tuition fees. The instruction will be given by the Columbia professorial body, and as the organization will be subject to the approval of the Columbia Trustees, the connection is closer than that of the Harvard Annex with that University. Our readers will recall the letter written to us by Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, which may be considered as the public opening of the agitation which has attained this happy result.

The ninth annual report of the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, or, in other words, of the Harvard Annex, represents a steady growth in all departments, with a crying need of enlarged quarters. The attendance for the coming year is certain to be larger than last year, and from a very wide range—Hawaii, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kentucky, Virginia, etc. After June of next year, the Society's "Harvard Examinations for Women" will be abandoned, as having served their end.

The New England Meteorological Society proposes to have a Loan Exhibition of Meteorological Apparatus, Photographs, etc., at the Institute of Technology, Boston, in connection with its fourteenth regular meeting in January, 1889. For this purpose the Society invites contributions to any of the following groups of articles: Meteorological apparatus; photographs (of lightning, of clouds, of meteorological apparatus and observatories, of buildings demolished by wind, tornado tracks, overturned trees, etc.); charts and specimens (as, of objects damaged by wind, lightning, hail, frost, and heat). Articles should be sent to A. Lawrence Rotch, Physical Department, Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, by prepaid mail or express, not later than January 12, 1889, and preferably immediately—marked, also, with the name and description of the article and the name and address of the contributor.

—A very curious document has just been issued by the Commissioner of Patents, entitled 'Women to whom Patents have been granted by the United States Government, 1790 to July 1, 1888.' It is a quarto of 44 pages, and records in round numbers about 2,500 patents, besides 57 reissues. The very first on the list was taken out by Mary Kies in 1809 for "straw-weaving with silk or thread." Mary Brush followed in 1815 with a "corset"; Sophia Usher in 1819 with "cream of tartar, carbonated liquid"; Julia Planton in 1822 with a "foot-stove." From that date the entries are annual, with exception of the years 1827, 1829, 1830, 1832, 1835-39, 1844, 1846, 1852, and 1854-55. The first (short) page of the pamphlet embraces the whole of the half century 1809-58, in which there were precisely fifty patents granted. By

1869 a year's entries require a full page; by 1881, two pages; by 1886, three pages. The first native patentee whose address is recorded is Agdalena S. Goodman, Duval Co., Fla., for "improvement in broom-brushes," 1849, and she was the only Southerner save one up to the outbreak of the civil war. During the same period, New York had furnished 14, Massachusetts 4, Ohio 2, and Maine, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana 1 each. Some one possessing more patience and leisure than ourselves may perhaps satisfy curiosity by summing up for each State to the present date, as well as by classifying the subjects of the patents. These are by no means confined to the domestic arts and conveniences, or to the hygiene or adornment of the female sex. In 1864 Mary Jane Montgomery of this city brought forward her "improved war-vessel," side by side with the "improved lantern dinner-pail" of a Michigan sister; and the same Miss Montgomery in the same year devised an "improvement in locomotive-wheels," having, by the way, many associates in railroad invention, even to "an apparatus for destroying vegetation on railroads." One lady in Iowa, with a male partner, makes an "improvement in cigars"; another, of Philadelphia, offers a considerable "moustache-spoon"; a third, of Boston, contributes a "pantaloon-tree." A gentle competition is observable in "improvements in corpse-coolers"; but we notice only one "apparatus for killing mosquitoes." Some of the more bizarre "devices" are "for inducing sleep"—a companion to the foregoing; "for restoring facial symmetry"; and "for exposing hair to the action of heated vapors." Perhaps in all the 2,500 we may look in vain for a new principle.

—It is a long time since we have seen so attractive an edition of a Greek classic as 'The Timæus of Plato,' edited by R. D. Archer-Hind, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (Macmillan). It is a large octavo of 360 pages, and the publishers have dressed it in a garb which makes it a delight to the reader and an ornament to the library. Of all the works of Plato the 'Timæus' is, in modern times, probably the least read. It is Plato's cosmogony, the work in which he gives us his theory of the ultimate constitution of matter, and what he conceives the history of the universe to have been from its origin down to and including the creation of man. The old scholiasts, with more than their usual accuracy, gave it the sub-title, "Concerning Nature; Physical." But everything in connection with physical science has undergone such a complete transformation in modern times that, to the natural philosopher of the present day, the speculations of Plato seem mere poetical fancies. The work is never read in our colleges, and by few out of college, except those who make a special study of the Platonic philosophy. Hence, separate editions of the dialogue are rare. The present is the first English edition, but we most unhesitatingly pronounce it the most learned and the most useful of all that have appeared in any country. A complete English translation, facing the Greek text, offers an assistance which, considering the difficulty and frequent obscurity of the original, will not be disdained by the most accomplished Greek scholar. It is written in excellent English, clear and flowing, and though with a freedom often bordering on paraphrase, yet, in all cases where we have carefully compared it with the Greek, it appears to us a correct and faithful exposition of Plato's meaning. Mr. Archer-Hind's elaborate introduction is a work of far higher importance than

the great majority of such preliminary dissertations. It is not merely an introduction to the 'Timæus,' but to the whole Platonic philosophy; even more than this, it gives a broad and comprehensive view of Greek speculative philosophy from its origin to Plato's time. The commentary is very full and almost invariably upon passages whose explanation is desired by the reader; it has few of the characteristics of the notes usually appended to text-books prepared for those learning Greek. Such knowledge as can be readily obtained from the grammar and dictionary is assumed. Mr. Archer-Hind writes for men, not boys. Especially worthy of notice are the comments on the mathematical passages in the 'Timæus.' The numerous diagrams, with the explanations given, set the meaning of these passages in so clear a light that one who has puzzled over them before often wonders why he was perplexed. It is not probable that we shall have another edition of the 'Timæus' for some time to come, and therefore it is agreeable to think that the want of another will not for a long time be felt. Two indexes, one Greek, the other English, are welcome additions to the many excellences of this handsome and scholarly work.

—Those of our readers who are interested in the earlier growth of the French monarchy will find a thorough and exact discussion of the contribution of Philip Augustus to this development in a doctor's dissertation by Mr. Williston Walker, who has just been called to the Chair of History at Bryn Mawr. Under the title, "On the Increase of Royal Power in France under Philip Augustus," Mr. Walker examines, "(1) the theory of the royal power and position of the royal family; (2) the central administration; (3) the local administration and the relation of the King to the feudal and corporate elements of the kingdom." One has but to compare the pages of this essay with the chapters on Philip Augustus in the larger histories of France, to see immediately that Mr. Walker has made a valuable addition to existing accounts of that long and active reign. Where the ordinary narratives are general, he is specific; and, with constant reference to the sources, he passes under review the whole system of the royal government. Warnkönig, in his 'Französische Staatgeschichte,' gives many details about the subordinate parts of the administration, but this particular question which Mr. Walker discusses is not nearly so fully examined, nor are his chronological bounds so definitely fixed. Besides, much progress has been made in historical criticism since Warnkönig wrote. Philip received his second name, not, as Michelet states, because he was born in August, but from the contemporary historian Rigord, who says he bestowed it upon him because writers usually give that title to rulers who increase (*augeo*) their realms. If Rigord had been familiar with the governmental methods of the first Augustus, he would no doubt have seen additional propriety in giving Philip that title, for Philip built up his own power on similar lines. The important feudal office of seneschal and chancellor, previously held by leading nobles, and frequently the strongholds of dangerous opposition to the King's power, he practically suppressed. The seneschalship was discontinued, and the duties of the chancellor he intrusted to various members of his council. This policy immeasurably strengthened the monarchy by placing under the immediate control of the King the power which had been exercised by the great officers in a semi-independent fashion. In regard to the other high officers he was more conservative; yet the tendency was the same.

The butlership declined in importance, the chamberlainship became largely honorary, the constableness was not changed much, but the active duties were passed into the hands of officers of lower rank. In this policy Philip was not an innovator, but rather the successful executor of the designs of his father and grandfather.

—In discussing the origin of the peers, Mr. Walker examines the first recorded instance of their participation in the judicial proceedings of the court, the trial of King John. Following Bémont (*Revue Historique*, September and November, 1886), Mr. Walker is inclined to discard the view held by the majority of writers (*e. g.*, Stubbs and Pearson) that John was twice tried, and condemned by default in 1202 on complaint of his vassals in Poitou, and again in 1203 for the murder of Arthur. It is affirmed that none of the contemporary historians of France record the second condemnation, while for the first there is considerable evidence. It hardly seems to us that the case is made out. Other features of Mr. Walker's essay we cannot take up here, but will refer those interested to the work itself, which will amply repay reading. We are informed in the biographical note that Mr. Walker was graduated from Amherst in 1883, from the Hartford Theological Seminary in 1886, and that he took his doctor's degree at Leipzig this last summer.

THE QUARREL OF THE DOCTORS.

The Fatal Illness of Frederick the Noble. By Sir Morell Mackenzie. London: Sampson Low & Co.; New York: Brentano. 1888.

THE sad story of the fatal illness of the late Emperor of Germany, with its doubtful diagnosis and its alternations of hope and fear, and of the patient, heroic struggle of the noble sufferer against the inroads of malignant disease, is still fresh in the memory of every one; and now, to complete the painful picture, the details of a disreputable controversy between the physicians in charge of the case have been spread before the public.

Early last summer the German physicians published their official report, in which they angrily denounced Dr. Mackenzie as a bungling manipulator, and threw upon him the whole blame for the failure to operate at a time when an operation might have cured the disease. With regard to these accusations it may be said that, in charging Mackenzie with lack of skill, the Germans were probably guided by their feelings rather than by their judgment; for, whatever faults Mackenzie may have, his bitterest professional enemies (and they are numerous enough in England) have always admitted his wonderful manual dexterity. Moreover, the German accounts of Mackenzie's operations are given in such an evidently hostile spirit, and contain such obvious inaccuracies, that no great confidence can be felt in the ability of the writers to make and report their observations honestly.

As for the responsibility for the failure to operate in the early stages of the disease, it seems to be perfectly well established that the German physicians were, on May 18, 1887, unanimously of the opinion that their patient was suffering from laryngeal cancer. It was further decided that on May 21 the larynx should be opened from the front and the morbid growth removed. On the evening of the 20th, Mackenzie first appeared upon the scene, listened to the reports of his German colleagues on the history of the case and the grounds for their diagnosis, examined the patient, declared himself by no means convinced

of the malignant nature of the disease, and objected most emphatically to the proposed operation until the microscopic examination of a portion of the growth removed through the mouth should have confirmed the diagnosis of cancer. To this delay the German physicians assented; and from this time till the close of the Emperor's life, though German physicians were constantly in attendance, the influence of Mackenzie seems to have been predominant.

One cannot fail to be struck by the readiness with which the six German physicians yielded to Mackenzie's guidance in this important matter, and it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that they were perhaps after all not quite so sure of their diagnosis in May, 1887, as when they wrote their report. Had they been so, the course most consistent with professional dignity would have been to state their inability to concur in Mackenzie's proposed course of treatment, and to withdraw from the case if the patient desired to follow the English physician's advice. Having retained their connection with the case, they certainly cannot avoid sharing with Mackenzie the responsibility for the delay. On the whole, therefore, the tone and spirit of the German report creates an impression not altogether unfavorable to Mackenzie; but unfortunately this impression is not confirmed by reading Mackenzie's own book, for we find him dealing in angry vituperation, reckless misstatements, bitter personal invectives, and downright charges of malpractice, in a way which clearly demonstrates that in this kind of controversy he has nothing to learn from the example set him by his colleagues.

It is alike painful and unprofitable to follow the details of this thoroughly disgraceful quarrel. The only question which interests the general reader is, whether the treatment of the case was in all respects the best adapted to save a life so important to the nations of Europe. As to this point it must be borne in mind that six eminent German physicians (though they subsequently allowed themselves to be overruled by Mackenzie) were in May, 1887, ready to stake their professional reputations on the diagnosis of cancer and to proceed at once to an operation. In the light of subsequent events, and allowing full weight to the statistics of similar operations, and bearing in mind the specially favorable conditions under which the operation would have been performed, there seems to be little doubt that the course thus recommended was in accordance with the most advanced medical science, and offered a reasonable chance of saving a life otherwise doomed to a speedy extinction. Upon the physician who urged delay must, therefore, rest the chief responsibility for depriving the illustrious patient of whatever chance of life an operation would have afforded.

It still remains to be explained how it could happen that a physician of Dr. Mackenzie's skill and experience could fail to concur in a diagnosis reached with such unanimity by his colleagues, and so fully confirmed by subsequent events. In this connection a phrase in Mackenzie's preface is significant. He writes: "I have been unable, for obvious reasons, to allude to several points which, though not bearing on the purely medical aspect of the case, were yet most important factors in determining the course which was pursued." The considerations not "purely medical" can hardly have been other than political in their character, and, among political considerations, that arising from the feeble state of the Emperor William's health in the spring of 1887 was obviously the most important. Does Dr. Mackenzie mean to imply that it was considered more desirable that the Crown Prince should

become Emperor than that he should be cured of his disease? On this hypothesis Mackenzie's course is comprehensible, for by refusing to operate he doubtless gave his patient a better chance of living six months, though a poorer chance of living six years. How far a physician may honorably allow his treatment to be influenced by considerations of this sort is a question which each practitioner must settle for himself; and it is easy to see how, in a case where such motives enter in, differences of opinion are certain to arise.

There is nothing, however, to excuse the tone in which the controversy has been carried on. It is a quarrel in which there are no laurels for either party, and of which the effect will be to produce in impartial readers a feeling that the heir to the imperial throne of Germany would have fared better had he been the humblest hospital patient in his father's dominions.

THE AFGHAN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA.

Lettres sur l'Inde. À la Frontière afghane.
Par James Darmesteter. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre. 1888.

IN the year 1886, Professor Darmesteter was commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction to undertake certain philological inquiries on the northwest frontier of British India. In pursuance of this mission he spent seven months in the two frontier districts of Peshawur and Hazara. The better part of his time, he tells us, was taken up in technical researches altogether devoid of the element of the picturesque. These inquiries, at the same time, brought him into somewhat intimate relations with a strange and picturesque people; he saw much that was new and interesting to him, and in these letters he has endeavored to reproduce, for the benefit of French readers, some portion of what he saw and heard. The result is a book as entertaining as it is instructive. The reader who has never been in India will find here nothing hard, technical, or obscure to diminish the piquancy of Professor Darmesteter's vivacious delineations of men and things; and those who know India best, if they find nothing positively new in these pages, will benefit by observing how familiar facts impressed the mind of a keen and intelligent inquirer. Especially in reference to the people of the country are the remarks of a competent observer, like the Professor, of value to their alien rulers. An Englishman, whether he be an official or not, who permanently resides in India, occupies a position the most disadvantageous for understanding or appreciating the character of the people. On landing in India he lacks the linguistic ability to communicate with them, and is, in consequence, thrown wholly upon the society of his countrymen, where what may be described as a traditional view of the Indian character reigns supreme. There being absolutely no social intercourse between the British community and the people of India, this traditional view is a thing made up of the strangest shreds and tatters—mere odds and ends of knowledge, pieced together in a wholly haphazard manner. It has, as its foundation, a sense of unquestionable superiority, originating in the fact of conquest, and maintained by all the political and social relations of the two races. It is built up by sweeping generalizations, deduced from the peccadilloes of domestic servants, the deviations from truth of terrified witnesses in a court of law, and the devices of those few natives who seek to compass their own advantage by pandering to the vanity of their white superiors.

When once this traditional view of the native character has taken possession of the mind, it is all but impossible for an Englishman to divest himself of it. For instance, not one Englishman in a hundred ever acquires such a command over any of the languages spoken in India as to be able to converse freely upon general topics with those who employ it as their native tongue. He knows enough to stumble through his official duties, his business, or whatever else it is that has taken him to that country; and that over, his intercourse with the people ceases, quite as much from inability to carry it further as from want of inclination. In former years, when Englishmen were accustomed to form connections with native women, and did not return to their own country once in twenty years, no such gulf as that which now exists divided them from the people of India. This growing difficulty of "keeping touch" with the subject races is, indeed, the greatest of the many dangers which threaten the stability of the Empire. Now, an accomplished oriental scholar, like Professor Darmesteter, landing in India for the purpose of philological research, is exposed to none of those influences which warp and pervert the judgment of the ordinary Englishman. He has been drawn thither, not in order to make a livelihood, but by the intellectual fascination which the East has already exercised upon him; the very purpose for which he comes inclines him towards the people rather than their rulers; he has no official or traditional prepossessions to overcome—and all these circumstances combine to endow his picture of the country with a freshness and impartiality which cannot be expected in an Anglo-Indian official.

Although the greater part of these letters is taken up with the two districts of Peshawur and Hazara, the Professor makes many suggestive reflections upon the condition of India generally. For example, he notes how superficial so far has been the influence of the West upon the people of India, in that the movement in the direction of political change is entirely disjoined from any desire for social or religious reform. There is absolutely no awakening of intellectual life (properly so called) in India. A certain proportion of the population has acquired more or less knowledge of English, but the deeper springs of thought and conviction have not been touched. This, of course, is due to the arrogant and unsympathetic form in which western civilization, as incarnated in the British community, is presented to the people. Could that civilization come among them as a friend and equal, and not as a kind of omnipotent ploughshare relentlessly rooting up whatever checks its course, the results would, in all probability, be very different. On this and other kindred topics, Professor Darmesteter has much to say that is worth reading, but it is chiefly as a picture of native and Anglo-Indian life on the far-away military frontier of the Empire that the book is of value.

The natural boundary of Hindostan is the river Indus. As soon as the traveller crosses that river, he enters into the country of the Afghans. Anterior, however, to the British conquest of the Punjab, the ruling power in that province was a religious sect known as the Sikhs. Originally the religious tenets of this sect consisted in the profession of a mild and gentle theism and the practice of passive submission to the powers that be. The ruthless persecution of the Delhi emperors had the effect of changing this community of Oriental Quakers into the Ironsides of India. The Afghans being as fanatical in their faith as the Sikhs were in theirs, the religious wars between the two peoples were incessant; and un-

der the conduct of their great leader, Runjeet Singh, the Sikhs established their power along the whole Afghan frontier, which extends along the banks of the Indus for eight hundred miles from Hazara to Moulton. When the British took possession of the Punjab, the question was discussed by the Government of India whether or not this strip of territory should be restored to Afghanistan. In an evil hour for the British Empire, it was decided in the negative. In the strip of open country which divides the Indus from the mountains of Afghanistan, the British had little difficulty in establishing a reign of law, but their authority ceases where the plains come to an end. The bleak and difficult hills which surround the cantonment of Hazara, which encircle the Peshawur Valley on the north, and which, under the name of the Suleiman Mountains, stretch southward in the direction of Moulton, are known collectively as Yaghistan. The word *Yaghee* signifies a man who can in no way be brought into an orderly condition, a thoroughly worthless, turbulent fellow; and such preëminently is the condition of Yaghistan. It acknowledges allegiance neither to the Ameer nor to the Viceroy. When the tribes are not engaged in fighting with each other, they vary the monotony of existence by raiding upon the Afghans—British subjects—who dwell in the plain country. Since the annexation of the Punjab, the Indian Government has sent about twenty-six military expeditions into the hills to inflict retribution for unprovoked raids upon its subjects. The mountaineers, however, remain incorrigible, and only a few weeks ago an army of ten thousand men had to be set in motion from Hazara to punish the tribesmen of the Black Mountain for the murder of two British officers.

Now, among the objects to which Professor Darmesteter devoted himself while on the north-west frontier, was the study of Pushtoo, the language of the Afghans. This naturally led him to take a lively interest in these people, and more especially in their songs and ballads; for, wild and rude as the Afghan is, there is a real vein of poetry running through the harsher elements of his character. Just as the history of the Arabs prior to the advent of Mohammed has been reconstructed from their poetry, so might a competent scholar do with the Afghans. Professor Darmesteter has made admirable use of these abundant materials. It is his frequent quotations from this ballad poetry which gives to his portraiture of the Afghans so much of freshness and reality, combined, as it is, with a keen eye for the distinctive characteristics of men. With a like happy and successful touch he has delineated the fearful monotony of Anglo-Indian life in a military cantonment, the qualities of the fighting races—Sikh, Ghoorkha, and Pathan—which constitute the effective portion of the native army; and while he sees clearly the limitations and defects of the British character as affected by its Eastern surroundings, he renders ample justice to the courage and honesty of purpose which won and keep this position.

History of Tennessee: The Making of a State.
By James Phelan, [M. C.]. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. Pp. 476. 12mo.

THIS is a somewhat pretentious book, taking up the lines of Green, Freeman, and Froude. The author is fond of the continuity of English life, beginning at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, stopping for a while in Britain, and crossing the Atlantic to America. The theories about the continuity of Anglo-Saxon laws and

habits of thought are obtruded again and again, almost *ad nauseam*.

The merit of the book lies in the interesting facts which it tells, though these are often obscured by their arrangement. When Mr. Phelan comes across a new actor on the political stage, he does not merely go back to his birth or first public appearance, which cannot well be avoided, but he also tells us all of his later doings and adventures, breaking the thread of the story so that it is often hard to make out whom he is writing about. The narrative begins with the year 1769. The discoveries of De Soto, the travels of La Salle and Marquette, the temporary French outposts on the Chickasaw Bluffs, left no mark on the features of the State. In 1769 a few settlers from Virginia met at Bean's cabin in the Watauga valley, near the State line; they formed the first germ of the body politic, the Watauga Association. The history starts here, and ends virtually with the outbreak of the civil war in 1861. What little is said of later events is mainly in justification of the repudiation (the writer calls it the "compromise") of the State debt in 1882.

The first settlers in East Tennessee came from Virginia, and took up their lands in supposed obedience to its laws. When they found themselves upon the territory of North Carolina, they asked its Legislature to extend the laws and protection of that State over them, which was done in 1776, but in name only; they were left to fight their own battles with the Cherokees. In 1784 the Western country was offered, rather than ceded, to the United States; its neglect became absolute. Then the revolutionary State of "Franklin" was formed, which, after a two years' flickering existence, collapsed, the settlers returning to their allegiance to the Old North State. In 1790 the territorial government of the Territory south of the Ohio River was set up with a Governor and Council; in 1794 a Legislative Assembly was vouchsafed to the settlers; in 1796 the State of Tennessee was admitted to the Union. Thus, in the course of twenty-seven years, the country saw six different Governments; but amidst all of them the constant petty wars with the Indians went on, with all their horrors and brutalities. The best fighters became the natural leaders of the people.

In these early days, little more than the extreme east of Tennessee was trodden by the foot of the white man. Knoxville became the capital in 1791, instead of still more eastern locations; Nashville (the successor of Nashborough) though founded about 1779, grew into importance at a later day, Memphis and West Tennessee much later. But the best part of the book is given to the few years in which the few pioneers among the rugged hills and dales round the upper Tennessee and the Holston rivers underwent their trials and hardships. The author believes in the maxim, "Happy is the people that has no history," and thinks that the best material for the historian is gone when the State is admitted into the Union, no longer quarrelling with the mother State or with Congress, well protected against Indian inroads, and steadily progressing towards wealth and the power of numbers.

The great figures in the history of Tennessee are John Sevier, Andrew Jackson, and Andrew Johnson. Comparatively little is said about the two latter, who are supposed to be known from their career upon the broader national stage. John Sevier belongs to Tennessee alone. With pardonable State pride, our author calls the battle of King's Mountain, in which Sevier, with two hundred sturdy pioneers from the Holston valley took a conspicuous part, the turning-point of the Revolutionary war, and

thus derives America's free existence from the brave deeds of those who built the State of Tennessee. As a soldier against "Britishers" and Tories, as Indian fighter, as leader and Governor of the rebel State of Franklin, and lastly as the acknowledged chief of the full-grown State of Tennessee, John Sevier is as striking a figure in the Southwest of his time as Samuel Houston, fifty years after him, starting from Tennessee, became in a new Southwest. The marriage of Houston, his election as Governor of Tennessee, his sudden resignation and departure because of his wife's departed love, are well but briefly told. David Crockett, the most picturesque figure of the Western backwoods, comes in only for mere mention: has not everybody read Crockett's life and sayings? Hugh Lawson White, about whom Jackson's enemies in the South rallied as a Presidential candidate in 1836, is highly praised for his purity and virtue, but we do not learn what, if anything, he really did. John Bell is, to our historian, the ablest politician of the State, and is set far above the more brilliant Francis Grundy.

But Mr. Phelan's warmest praise is reserved for a wholly non-political character, Samuel Tate, whose well-directed energy raised the money for completing the Charleston and Memphis Railroad. "He promised at the time (August, 1854) to have the road completed by the 1st of April, 1857. It is worthy of remark that the last spike was driven on the 27th of March, 1857." To this railroad Memphis, the commercial capital of the State, owes much of its wealth and preëminence, and a great part of western and southern Tennessee an outlet for its products and access to the luxuries and amenities of the country at large. The advance made by the advent of the steamboat, as compared with the former days of canoe and pirogue, keelboat and "broadhorn," was much more marked; but steamboats were built by "capital" for profit, while the motive power of the early railroad was, in the words of our author, a compound of agriculture and sentiment.

The change from the habits of the frontiersman to those of civilized life is well put:

"When first we meet with him he wears moccasins, leggings, hunting-shirt, and coonskin cap. His rifle rests in the hollow of his arm. Around his waist is a leathern belt, while shot, powder, and powder horn are strung over opposite shoulders. A dog is apt to be at his heels. As the settlement advances, however, his character is modified in a great degree with his appearance. The cap goes first, then the moccasins and leggings, and finally the hunting-shirt. He hunts less and works more. Perhaps he now has a negro slave or two, a couple of horses, and a few 'herd of stock.' His family increases, also his slaves and his cattle. He loses some of his prejudice against the refinements of life. He even brooks a ruffled shirt. . . . His wealth continues to increase. He builds a frame house in which there are various rooms. . . . His son is with Doak in the East, or at Davidson College; his daughters are possibly in South Carolina, etc." (pp. 184, 185.)

Slaves, by the way, are mentioned very sparingly in the early days which precede the formation of the State. The "institution" was guaranteed in the acts of cession and acceptance, but it found little foothold till peace against the Indian enemy was secured by compact numbers, and till those well-to-do citizens of the Eastern States who owned human merchandise were no longer repelled by the fear of intolerable hardships from crossing the Appalachian Mountains.

The book contains a chapter on "Tennessee Institutes," and one on "Local Self-Government," tracing from England through North Carolina the leading features of civil political

law that prevail in Tennessee. Mr. Phelan shows why the Southwest must differ from New England in the matter of the township, and all that pertains to it, though the institutions of both come from the same English source, each branch of the American offshoot retaining what is most in accord with its needs. A chapter on "Religion in Tennessee" follows, which is interesting, as giving the rise of the "Cumberland Presbyterian Church" out of the Cumberland Presbytery. The very hardness and narrowness of the Presbyterian ministers who then ruled in the Transylvania Synod over Kentucky and Tennessee, as manifested in continual accusations of and trials for heresy, drove out those members of the Cumberland Presbytery (so named from the river flowing through Northern Tennessee) who favored the calling of unlearned laymen to the ministry, in order to supply the great demand for spiritual leaders which was nourished by the camp-meetings. These were first held on the border-line of Kentucky and Tennessee in the opening years of the present century. The Cumberland Church was, in fact, a compromise between the Presbyterian and Methodist models. It was owing to the dissensions in the former that the latter church soon gained its great predominance in Tennessee. The "jerkings," a nervous epidemic, which grew out of the camp-meeting excitement, and raged for three or more years through the two sister States of the Southwest, is touched upon very curtly.

There is a chapter on "Schools." The "first literary institution established in the great Mississippi Valley," says our author, on the authority of "Monette," was Martin Academy, chartered in 1788, under the presidency of Samuel Doak, a Presbyterian minister of Scotch-Irish descent, great-grandfather of H. M. Doak of Nashville, to whom the book is dedicated. We fear that some citizen of Lexington, Kentucky, the "Western Athens," will dispute this claim of priority. The chapter on "Banks" recounts the blunders and disasters which Tennessee shared with all the Western and many Eastern States. From the chapter on "Internal Improvements" we have already quoted the glories of Sam Tate. Another chapter treats of "Murrell and the Reign of Disorder." John A. Murrell was simply the head of the "Mystic Clan" of murderers, robbers, horse-thieves, and counterfeiters, who infested the Southwest for years, and, by terrorizing the better elements of society, long defied justice. He was in 1834 convicted of one of his many crimes, and sent to the penitentiary for a long enough term to render him harmless. The expulsion of the gamblers from Vicksburg in the following year (1835) is mentioned as breaking the hold of the vicious classes on the Mississippi-River country; but enough lawlessness was left.

Dissection of the Dog as a Basis for the Study of Physiology. By W. H. Howell, A.B., Ph.D., Associate in Biology, Johns Hopkins University. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1888. Pp. 107, 7 figures.

THE author rightly holds that "even an elementary study of human physiology ought to be preceded by a more or less thorough dissection of some mammal." Of the reasons given for preferring the dog to the rabbit or cat, the last alone has any force, and this only where the dog is the usual subject of physiological experimentation; no ground is assigned for publishing a new dissection of this quadruped after the favorable reception of several editions of Foster & Langley's 'Practical Physi-

ology,' which, by the way, like the account of canine anatomy in Huxley's 'Vertebrates,' and indeed all literature, is unmentioned. The moderate size of the book is due partly to the judicious omission of parts having comparatively little physiological importance, and partly to the brevity of the directions for dissection. This feature the author undertakes to justify in the preface:

"To a person altogether ignorant of the methods of dissecting, a written description cannot fully supply the place of an instructor; . . . to students with some little experience, or working under the guidance of an instructor, it is a hindrance rather than advantage to attempt to describe just the direction and extent of each cut," etc.

It will be noted that here is a grave question in educational methods which might well occupy the attention of a body like the American Society of Naturalists. On this occasion the reviewer contents himself with dissenting from both the above propositions; with claiming that the time of an instructor should never be taken for anything that a printed book can supply; and with pointing out that (1) the present work is professedly designed for absolutely untrained beginners; (2) the author's claim that "it is better to leave something to the intelligence and discretion of the teacher or the pupil" might, it would seem, have warranted the omission of the initial paragraph of "dissection of the eye": "With a moistened sponge clean the exposed portion of the eyeball and the eyelids from dirt;" (3) in one respect, namely, as to cutting the muscles at their attachments, the directions are not only superfluous, from the author's own standpoint, but at variance with the practice and precept of all expert anatomists.

It would be hardly fair to estimate the author's experience, judgment, and acquaintance with the views of other anatomists from the following extraordinary sentence upon that liquid which the "Autocrat" characterized as "destroying the organs of the living, but conferring a kind of immortality upon those of the dead," and which the late Louis Agassiz and Spencer F. Baird gave weeks of their precious lives in persuading Congress to remit the tax upon for natural-history purposes: "Immersing the dog in alcohol will keep it from decomposing, but leaves it in such a bad condition for dissecting that it is not to be recommended." This is as wise and just as it would be for a professed cook to declare that "exposing the lamb to heat will cook it, but leaves it in such a bad condition for eating that it is not to be recommended." In reviewing another laboratory manual, in which several pages are devoted to explicit directions for the use of various grades of alcohol for various purposes, a leading anatomist remarked (*American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, January, 1883): "Judging from the condition in which specimens are often presented for inspection at our medical societies, it is evident that not one physician in a hundred knows the use of alcohol as a preservative." Is the Biological Department of Johns Hopkins University prepared to reject this agent upon grounds fairly comparable with those upon which certain well-disposed but ill-informed persons denounce alcohol as a beverage as "always and for all people a poison"? Plaster of Paris is recommended for injection of the blood-vessels rather than the starch-mixtures introduced by Pansch and improved by Gage, which are preferable on nearly all accounts.

As usual in such works, the directions for obtaining the brain are anthropotomical in source, vague, and insufficient. Notwithstand-

the assurance that "with a little care the cap of the skull may be isolated without tearing the brain at all," the present writer ventures to doubt whether this ever has been or ever will be accomplished: the bony tentorium is not even mentioned, yet it forms a serious and commonly unexpected impediment.

Little fault is to be found with the seven diagrams, mostly of vessels and nerves; but one would naturally expect in addition an outline of the base of the brain. There are errors respecting the similarity of the roofs of the two parts of the fourth ventricle, and the representation of the "vago-sympathetic" nerve as if not easily separable into its two constituents. In view of the famous controversy between two English anatomists, twenty-five years ago, as to the presence of the "posterior horn of the lateral ventricle" in apes, the statement on page 82 that the dog always has even a "very inconspicuous" representative of it should, perhaps, be more extended. Although functionless, the rudimentary clavicle which exists in some dogs might well have been mentioned in connection with the tendinous intersection of the *levator humeri*.

The preface professes to enumerate "the terms of direction made use of, as *anterior*, meaning towards the head; *posterior*, towards the tail; *dorsal* and *ventral*, with the usual significance; *right* and *left*, *inner* and *outer*, with reference to the midline of the body." *Midline* is an improvement upon *middle line* or *median line*, and the use of *dorsal* and *ventral* is to be commended; the text, however, exhibits frequent lapses into the customary ambiguities, *above*, *below*, *over*, *under*, *forward*, *downward*, *backward*, *outer*, *outside*, and *internal*, any of which might have two or more meanings, excepting for one already familiar with the facts. The following unusual names and interpretations should have been justified in the book itself, or references should have been given to publications in which they have been submitted to competent tribunals: "*infra-cardiac*" for azygous lobe of the lung; "*great tubercle*" for greater tuberosity of the humerus; "*latissimus extensor*" for the dorso-epitrochlearis; and the inclusion of all the muscular masses, from the ribs and sternum to the humerus, under the one name, *pectoralis major*. The best bit of description is that of the heart (p. 42). English weights and measures are commonly employed, yet on page 12 the same paragraph contains *feet* and *grammes*.

The page is large and the type clear. Typographical errors (e. g., *calices*) are few, but there is great irregularity in the hyphenation of names; in fact, the needless hyphens are so numerous as to give some pages the look of a child's reader. The index is far from complete.

Goethe und Karl August. Studien zu Goethe's Leben von Heinrich Düntzer. Zweite neubearbeitete und vollendete Auflage. Leipzig: Dyk'sche Buchhandlung; New York: Westermann.

THIS huge book, made of three volumes in one, and containing nearly a thousand closely printed pages, is the latest achievement of the indefatigable Heinrich Düntzer, who, however it may stand with his other claims to a monument, will certainly deserve one for his industry. As far back as 1859 he published a volume entitled 'Goethe und Karl August während der ersten fünfzehn Jahre ihrer Verbindung.' In 1864, a second volume appeared, which continued the history down to 1805. Then the work stagnated until 1886, when the original publisher's

successor proposed a new edition of the first two volumes and the completion of the work in a third. To this the author assented, but found it necessary to rewrite entirely what had already appeared. As the preface is dated May, 1887, we infer that this enormous task was performed by Düntzer, who is now seventy-five years old, in about a year. Such a feat means, of course, little more than that the inveterate book-maker, who has written a fair-sized library upon subjects connected with the great days of Weimar, has rehased the familiar materials, and so—made another book.

The work of Düntzer, his merits and his limitations, are so well known that extended criticism of the volume before us is unnecessary. Suffice it to say that this is a work like his other works: it exhibits the same evidence of prodigious industry in reading and excerpting, the same pathetic fidelity in chronicling small beer, and the same lack of critical capacity, of literary skill, and of the other higher qualities of style that go to make biography delightful. The lives of Goethe and Karl August are described circumstantially from the beginning of their connection to the death of the Grand Duke in 1828. The tireless chronicler follows them from month to month, and even from day to day, telling us where they went, whom they saw, what the weather was, with whom they dined, and how they felt. The book will undoubtedly find readers among the growing legion of those who read about Goethe for the purpose of writing about Goethe; but it will hardly make numerous friends among those who do not belong to this class, especially among those with whom a sense of the shortness of life is a real present fact of consciousness.

To some people in this country, as well as to many in Germany, the fact of chief interest in connection with this work of Düntzer's is that, in spite of its pretensions to thoroughness, it was written without access to the Goethe archives at Weimar, and that, too, though the archives are known to contain not a little of unpublished correspondence between Goethe and Karl August, as well as other documents likely to throw light upon the relations of the pair to each other. This is doubtless an incident of Düntzer's quarrel with what he calls the "Berlin-Weimar ring"; at least, we infer as much from a sentence of his preface, in which, speaking of the documents just referred to, he observes that he has "spared himself the hopeless attempt to obtain access to them." In view of the fact that comprehensive biographies of Goethe and Karl August are among the plans of the Grand-Duchess Sophie and her advisers, it would seem to require some assurance to enter the field just now with a publication of this nature got up without the help of the Weimar collections. But of assurance Düntzer has no lack, as is sufficiently shown, for instance, by his recent exploit of reëditing Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein after Wilhelm Fielitz had just given them to the world in two volumes as admirably edited as they are handsomely printed. Fielitz had, however, reproduced Goethe's orthography, and this was displeasing to Düntzer, who has always had a fancy for correcting and normalizing Goethe's text. Furthermore, Fielitz had assigned conjectural dates to a number of dateless letters, and printed them in the body of the volumes in chronological order. Düntzer thought they should have been either omitted entirely or printed by themselves in an appendix. So he went to work and put out an edition of his own, which has, as the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* very justly remarks, "not the slightest independent value."

Henry the Second. By Mrs. J. R. Green. [Twelve English Statesmen.] Macmillan & Co. 1888. 12mo, pp. 224.

No greater service can be rendered to the student of constitutional history than to lay before him, in concrete form, a truthful picture of the practical working of institutions at some critical epoch. The most accurate analysis of the forms and forces of government is but the exhibition of a piece of dead machinery, which needs to be seen in operation in order to be really understood; and, what is of still more importance, such an analysis can take no account of the human passions and interests which enter into all systems of government as a disturbing element. We may speak of the machinery of government, but it is machinery which never works mechanically or with perfect smoothness. There is no more fertile source of misunderstanding in historical study than the assumption that statutes and organic forms actually govern the life of the community: if this is not true at the present day, much less can it be true in ruder and less orderly times. The too formal and systematic notions derived from the study of the machinery of government are best corrected by such a concrete presentation as that suggested.

Many historians have undertaken, with more or less success, to provide such a sketch of government in its actual workings, either as an independent writing or as a part of larger works; but we are not acquainted with any attempt so successful as that of Mrs. Green, in her account of Henry II. The importance of this epoch cannot, of course, be overestimated; nor, for the matter of that, its obscurity and difficulty, if this prince is sometimes represented as the legislator of feudalism and sometimes as its destroyer—both possible points of views, and true in certain relations. At all events, he stood half way between the Norman Conquest, which introduced fundamentally new principles of administration, and Edward I., with whom the English Constitution took its final shape; and it was the peculiar shape in which he cast the institutions inherited from Anglo-Saxon times and from the Norman conquerors which made possible the great constitutional development of the thirteenth century.

The principal value of the work is as an intelligible description of the condition of society and government at this turning-point in English history, and of the reforms effected by Henry II. Take, as a specimen of the work, this passage, relating to the administration of justice (p. 55):

"It is scarcely possible to estimate the difficulties in the way of justice when Henry came to the throne. The wretched freeholders, summoned to the Shire Court from farm and cattle, from mill or anvil or carpenter's bench, knew well the terrors of the journey through marsh and fen and forest, the dangers of flood and torrent, and perhaps of outlawed thief or murderer, the privations and hardships of the way; and the heavy fines which occur in the King's rolls for non-attendance show how anxiously great numbers of the suitors avoided joining in the troublesome and thankless business of the court. When they reached the place of trial, a great medley of business awaited them, as questions of criminal jurisdiction, of feudal tenure, of English 'sac and soc,' of Norman franchises and Saxon liberties, with procedure sometimes of the one people, sometimes of the other. The days dragged painfully on as, without any help from trained lawyers, the 'suitors' sought to settle perplexed questions between opposing claims of national, provincial, ecclesiastical, and civic laws, or made arduous journeys to visit the scene of some murder or outrage, or sought for evidence on some difficult problem of fact. . . . The procedure of the courts was antiquated, and no longer guided by consistent principles. Their modes of trial were so cumbrous, formal, and inflexible that it was scarcely possible to avoid

some minute technical mistake which might invalidate the final decision. The business of the larger courts, too, was for the most part carried on in French, under sheriff, or bailiff, or lord of the manor. . . . When each side in a trial claimed its own customary law, and neither side understood the speech of the other, the president of the court had every temptation to be despotic and corrupt, and the interpreter between him and his suitors became an important person, who had much influence in deciding what mode of procedure was to be followed. . . . The men of that day looked too often with utter hopelessness to the administration of justice; there was no peril so great in all the dangers that surrounded their lives as the peril of the law; there was no oppression so cruel as the oppression wrought by the harsh and rigid forms of the courts. From such calamities the miserable and despairing victims could look for no help, save from the miraculous aid of the saints."

The Constitution and its reforms are, if the most important, yet only one of the large subjects discussed in the book. The personality of Henry and his court and realm, the collision of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the conquest of Ireland, the civil wars, are all treated with equal lucidity and graphic interest. And if we have dwelt especially upon the graphic character of the work, it must not be understood to be lacking in the substantial qualities of scholarship. Its chief value is to supplement works of an analytic character, like that of Bishop Stubbs; yet it need not be used solely to supplement, but will serve by itself as a brief but correct outline of the Constitution and its history at this period.

In the middle of page 10 Lorraine should, of course, be Touraine. In the middle of page 47 it seems that we should read canon law instead of civil law; at any rate Gratian's *Decretum* was canon law. We ought to add that this work not merely presents a general sketch, but is full of incident, sometimes very entertaining.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning. By John H. Ingram. (Famous Women Series.) 16mo, pp. 264. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1888.

It seems strange that eighteen other women, many of them of far less distinction, should have preceded Mrs. Browning in this series; but the fact is explained by there being the least possible material in her case for an interesting biography. During the twenty-seven years since her death, her friends have carefully refrained from giving to the public any records of her life, save when Mr. Horne printed her letters to him. This wise forbearance can perhaps not be prolonged by those who are called upon to make familiar to another generation an illustrious name, but it renders their task a difficult one. Its difficulties have been in no degree overcome by Mr. Ingram. His pages are as dull, as clumsy, as inadequately thought out, and as imperfectly phrased; as possible. He has contented himself with accomplishing the work merely of a compiler, bringing together the trivial information to be gathered from Miss Mitford, Mr. Story, and the Horne letters, and connecting such passages with criticisms by Poe and inferior writers, throwing in occasionally a prose paraphrase by himself of one of Mrs. Browning's poems, or such remarks as "No poet ever penned a more poetic piece," or that "her poetic inspiration was of the highest, the most august conceivable," or comments on "the magnificent aspirations, the glowing thoughts, the brilliant scintillations of genius, the innumerable gem-like passages of pathos, the passionate rushes of language, and the daring assaults upon time-honored customs with which this crowning work of woman's genius is replete"; alternating with quotations about "a horror sublime in its simplicity—of

which Dante himself might have been proud," etc.

Such guides scarcely point out the true objects for admiration in Mrs. Browning's writings; and it would require remarkable intelligence to derive from this book an accurate impression of her sensitive and high-strung nature—on one side ignorant, narrow, self-willed, and intellectually obstinate; on the other full of accomplishment, sweetness, and generous humanity. The best things in the volume are the accounts of "Flush," Mrs. Browning's spaniel; and those are not very good.

Tales of the Birds. By W. Warde Fowler.

With illustrations by Bryan Hook. Macmillan & Co. 1888. 8vo, pp. 209.

THIS book is handsomely printed on heavy paper, in large type, with wide margins, and several examples of an artist's mannerism. The reading-matter is less laudable, and we should doubt that it would engage an adult mind, other than a reviewer's. The author seems to us either to have tried to write a book, or to have taken a contract to that end. The birds are made to try to tell tales like persons, but seem to labor under the author's own disability, and it would have been better to leave them wagging their tails to suit themselves. Altogether, we fancy that the publishers' declaration, "The right of translation and reproduction is reserved," must be taken humorously. It is the best thing in the book.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bailey, J. B. *Modern Methuselahs*. London: Chapman & Hall.

Besant, W. *The Eulogy of Richard Jefferies*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.

Better Times: *Stories*, by the Author of "The Story of Margaret Kent." Boston: Ticknor & Co. \$1.50.

Blavatsky, H. P. *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy*. Vol. I. Cosmogonies. William Q. Judge. \$5.

Burnett, Mrs. Frances Hodgson. *Kathleen: A Novel*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. 25 cents.

Century Magazine. May, 1888, to October, 1888. The Century Co.

Channing, Rev. W. E. *The Perfect Life, in Twelve Discourses*. Scribner & Welford.

Chaucer. *Selected and Edited by Frederick Noel Paton*. London: Walter Scott; New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Coates, H. T. *The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry*. 27th ed., revised and enlarged. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. \$5.

Dana, Katherine Floyd. *Our Phil, and Other Stories*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

Davenport, R. B. *The Death-Blow to Spiritualism. Being the True Story of the Fox Sisters*. G. W. Dillingham. 60 cents.

Doudney, Sarah. *Under False Colors*. Scribner & Welford.

Downville, Lady Margaret. *Life of Lamartine*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Fenn, G. M. *Quicksilver; or, The Boy with No Skid to his Wheel*. Scribner & Welford.

Fiske, J. *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Fitzpatrick, W. J. *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator*. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co.

Flagg, E. De Molai: *The Last of the Military Grand Masters of the Order of Templar Knights*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

Fleming, May Agnes. *The Virginia Heiress*. Street & Smith.

Gissing, G. *A Life's Morning*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 25 cents.

Heaton, Mrs. Charles. *A Concise History of Painting*. New ed., revised. Scribner & Welford.

Herrick, Sophia Bledsoe. *The Earth in Past Ages*. Harper & Bros.

Hosmer, Prof. J. K. *Life of Young Sir Harry Vane*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Hugo, V. *The Man Who Laughs*. Illustrated by D. Verge and D. Rochegrosse. 2 vols. George Routledge & Sons. \$6.

Hurlbert, W. H. *Ireland Under Coercion: The Diary of an American*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.75.

Kabel, T. E. *Life of George Crabbe*. London: Walter Scott; New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Kydd, S. *A Sketch of the Growth of Public Opinion: Its Influence on the Constitution and Government*. A. C. Armstrong & Co. \$1.

Lanciani, Prof. R. *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$6.00.

Lees-Clutterbuck, B. C. 1887: *A Ramble in British Columbia*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.25.

Lewis, Mrs. Harriet. *Her Double Life*. Robert Bonner's Sons. 50 cents.

Little, Elizabeth N. *Log-Book Notes through Life*. White & Allen.

Macquoid, G. S. *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*. White & Allen. \$2.25.

Magazine of Art. Cassell & Co. \$5.

Manatt, I. J. *Xenophon: Hellenica*. Books I.—IV. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.75.

Moore, F. F. *Under Hatches; or, Ned Woodthorp's Adventures*. Scribner & Welford.

Mulholland Rosa. *Glannetta: A Girl's Story of Herself*. Scribner & Welford.

Nettleship, R. L. *Works of Thomas Hill Green*. Professor of Moral Philosophy in Oxford University. Vol. III. *Miscellaneous and Memoir*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$7.

Parloa, Maria. *New Cook Book*. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

Poor's Directory of Railway Officials. 1888-9. *Poor's Manual of Railroads*.

Pyle, H. *Otto of the Silver Hand*. Illustrated by the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Schopenhauer, A. *Two Essays: I. On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason. II. On the Will of Nature*. Scribner & Welford.

Schumann, R. *Early Letters, Originally Published by his Wife*. Translated by May Herbert. Scribner & Welford.

Siller, F. *The Song of Manitoba, and Other Poems*. Milwaukee: T. S. Gray & Co.

Star Crossed: *The Life and Love of an Actress*. The Graphic Publishing Co. 50 cents.

Sr. Nicholas. Vols. XV, and XVI. November, 1887, to October, 1888. The Century Co.

Sumner, H. *The Besom Maker, and Other Country Folk Songs*. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.

The Bookworm. A. C. Armstrong & Co. \$3.

The Thompson Street Poker Club. White & Allen. 50 cents.

The Voice of Nature. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 60 cents.

Fine Arts.

THE VERESTCHAGIN EXHIBITION.

WHATEVER creates a sensation in Europe, whether in the arts, the drama, or in literature, nowadays inevitably finds its way to New York. The exhibition of pictures by M. Vassili Verestchagin has been a little late in arriving, however, for some of the works now to be seen at the galleries of the American Art Association were shown in Paris fully ten years ago. Since then this collection has been exhibited in the important cities of Europe, finishing up with London, where it was shown last spring. Ingenious advertising, claptrap, and humbug found their highest expression in the methods employed here on behalf of the Munkacsy pictures the past two winters, and it is due to the Verestchagin management to say that so far their ways have been much less objectionable. No "private view for the clergy" or anything of that sort has been announced, and the accessories of the exhibition are of a different kind from those which distinguished the Munkacsy shows, with their mysterious gas-light effects and their hired weepers and attendants with muffled tread. Indeed, the arrangement of the Verestchagin galleries is elegant and in excellent taste. There are some very handsome rugs hung up here and there, some fine old tiles and pieces of pottery, some effective drapery and other articles used in the decoration of the rooms.

But the pamphlet is here. It appears in this case in the form of two appendices to the catalogue: Appendix No. 1, "Progress in Art," and Appendix No. 2, "Realism." Both are from the facile pen of M. Verestchagin himself; and in these the artist, or, as he is denominated in the catalogue, the "Painter, Soldier, Traveler," sets forth his principles and defines his creed. In "Progress in Art," great stress is laid on the necessity of depicting events which occurred out of doors, in out-of-door light, and not under the concentrated light of the studio window. The author in this does no more than repeat the teachings of Edouard Manet and Claude Monet, who preached the doctrine of *plein air* long before him, and, what is more, practised what they preached. The objections, "Not only in the perfect construction of their pictures, but also in the sublimity of conception, the old masters stand on an unapproachable height, and we can only strive after them," to quote M. Verestchagin's summary of such speeches; and again, "The same assertion blocks the way, 'The old masters have done thus, and therefore . . .,' " are not so often heard at the present time, but it is not because of M. Verestchagin's work that this is the case. As we have said, the new doctrine was preached before his time. Bastien-Lepage was one of

those who pushed it to complete and satisfactory results. M. Verestchagin, if judged by some of his works at the galleries in Twenty-third Street, has signally failed to do so. Take, for example, one of the pictures in the series of three which are grouped under the title of "Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth—Crucifixion by the Romans," No. 91. This picture represents the Crucifixion of Christ and the two thieves, as M. Verestchagin supposes it to have happened. He has visited the place; he has made studies there, presumably of the landscape and of the types of the people as he finds them in our time. The crucifixion took place out of doors. Does this picture look like a scene out of doors? Is there any air in this pasty gray and black sky? Is this hot color, this brickish red and yellow in the flesh tones, like the effect of diffused light? Are these brown shadows on the under sides of hands and arms, and under the chins of the people in the crowd, ever seen out of doors? And this flat look in everything—these heads, which are only masks cut out on the background, and these crudely colored garments, these garish whites and reds and yellows—do things look like that out of doors? Assuredly not; and if all this was not done under the disadvantage of artificial lighting "inside of four walls," then it is but a lame attempt to paint *en plein air*.

In the second appendix to the catalogue, "Realism," our artist-author says: "I hold, though, that the art of representing subjects in a realistic manner does not entitle a person to the name of realist," and he then proceeds to annihilate De Neuville because he painted some pictures of the Zulu war without going to Africa to get realistic effects after the war was over. "There are no Britishers nor Zulus to be found in the pictures. Instead of the former, we behold Frenchmen dressed up in British uniforms, and instead of Zulus, the ordinary Parisian negro-models, reproduced in various more or less warlike attitudes;" and the author asks, "Well, is that realism?" and answers quite rightly, "No." It is a matter of fact, however, that the pictures were painted principally in order to introduce portraits of British officers in the action, and this M. de Neuville did, and did very well on the whole. As for his own position as an artist and his own influence on civilization, M. Verestchagin quotes approvingly the following passages from an article published in a religious journal in London, the *Christian*: "These paintings are the work of a Russian, Verestchagin—a painter equal to any of his contemporaries in artistic ability, and beyond any painter who ever lived in the grandeur of his moral aims and the application of his lessons to the consciences of all who take the least pains to understand him. . . . I will only say that he who misses seeing these paintings will miss the best opportunity he may ever have of understanding the age in which he lives; for if ever the nineteenth century has had a prophet, it is the Russian painter Verestchagin."

A good part of this essay on "Realism" is devoted by the author to defending himself against the adverse criticisms which some of his pictures have received from those who have said that they are not true; and M. Verestchagin avers that he did them on the spot, and that they are true. We shall have to take his word for it: our business is now to consider how well he has represented pictorially what he saw. The first and one of the most important things in making a picture is composition. M. Verestchagin, however much he may insist upon the necessity of painting things just as they are, has nevertheless a tendency, very marked in some of his pic-

tures, to force a scene from life with its irregular grouping into arbitrary lines; he exhibits a decided preference for the triangle in composition, and uses it whenever possible. Note the perspective lines of the top of the wall at the left in the picture of the Crucifixion, and those of the tops of the three crosses on the right converging to the centre of the picture, in proof of this. The same thing is found in the "Blowing from Guns in British India," No. 92, in which the long row of soldiers and the victims at the mouth of each gun, the line of soldiers in the distance, and the line of the hills beyond, all converge to a point at the extreme left. The effect is forced and artificial. It is seen again in "The Kremlin," No. 90, and in each of the pictures catalogued under the title "Solomon's Wall," No. 13. As to general truthfulness of effect, in the rendering of values in sunlight and in shadow, for instance, there are varying degrees of merit in M. Verestchagin's work. In some of the pictures he exhibits marked skill in representing difficult effects on a large scale. In "The Window of Selim-Shisti's Monument," No. 51, a picture in which a number of Mohammedans in white clothing are shown grouped about a white marble veranda, in full sunlight, he is notably successful. The general effect impresses one as being true to nature, and the picture, moreover, is excellently painted in detail. "The Private Mosque of the Great Moguls in the Palace of Delhi," No. 61, is another example of successful treatment of large masses of white. The white marble walls and floors of the court and portico are in diffused light, with strong reflections, and the painter has made good use of the opportunity to produce a striking effect with simple means. The broad expanses of white marble are painted with just sufficient detail, and the differing values are rendered with much exactness of observation. Color notes of green and yellow, found in the costumes of the people praying in the portico, are introduced in the prevailing scheme of white with excellent results. Another picture, which shows M. Verestchagin's appreciation of subtle values, is a small canvas, a study from nature apparently, "The Earth Huts at Shipka," No. 76—a camp of soldiers, with the ground covered with a deep snow. But it is in the smaller of the two pictures called "Solomon's Wall," No. 13, that M. Verestchagin is seen at his best. It is quite the best picture in the collection, to our mind, and if there were more like it the purely art interest of the exhibition would not be so overshadowed by the sensational interest

to which so much prominence is given. This picture, which must not be confounded with the larger one with the same title and the same catalogue number—an inferior performance—possesses fine qualities of color, and is excellent in ensemble.

Of the numerous pictures of military subjects, of the pictures which we have been told present the horrors of war as they have never before been presented on canvas, there is little good to be said. "The Conquered," No. 88, a field covered with dead bodies, with a priest and a soldier in the foreground, is tame and uninteresting. "The Spy," No. 84, and "The Road of the War Prisoners," No. 86, are equally commonplace, though the story of the latter as related in detail in the catalogue is horrible enough. "After the Battle," No. 81, showing the tents of the hospital surgeons and a large number of wounded men after the battle of Plevna, tells its story better, but is of indifferent merit artistically, while "Before the Attack," No. 79, is cheap and tawdry in the extreme. M. de Neuville, whom M. Verestchagin affects to despise, has painted this sort of subjects infinitely better, and so have other military painters of the modern French school.

Scattered through the galleries are numerous small studies of heads in oil, "Russian Types," "Bhutanese of Sikkim in the Himalayas," "Hindu Workman," "Portrait of a Jewish Rabbi," etc., in which we might have expected to find some evidence of technical ability. Though usually pretty fairly drawn, they are, without exception, very weakly painted, and in no case do we find the slightest charm of color. "The Portrait of a Jewish Rabbi," No. 38, for example, is hot and "foxy" in color, and exceedingly hard and dry in *facture*. The wrinkles in the forehead are naïvely indicated by crooked lines of blackish paint. Where the artist has been unembarrassed by the difficulties inherent in the mere technical handling of color, his attempts at character study are more successful. His pencil drawings and drawings in oil wash on canvas, a number of which are hung in a gallery apart, and catalogued under the heading of Sketches, are many of them excellent, and some of them even admirable. They are among the most interesting things in the exhibition.

In the pictures illustrating the life of Christ, there is not so much ground for impugning the artist's motives as the sensational incident which occurred when they were exhibited in Vienna might have led us to expect. Realistical-

ly treated, and with as much of the *couleur locale* as it is possible to put into the composition at this late day, no doubt the picture of "The Holy Family," No. 45, possesses elements of truth and probability. It is likely that Verestchagin's picture comes nearer to being a representation of facts than do those of the same subject by Raphael and other masters of the Renaissance, who merely painted comely Italian women in conventional robes of blue or red, and beautiful children; or than those by Rembrandt do, who painted the common people of his native town in their every-day costume, as the companions of Christ. Nevertheless, his "Holy Family" is merely a picture of an Oriental family in a shady courtyard, where the father and an apprentice, one of his sons possibly, are at work at a carpenter's bench, and the mother is seen seated on the ground nursing an infant, and some other children are playing near by; while the son who was to become the Great Teacher sits apart at the bottom of a flight of stone steps, reading from a scroll which he holds in his hands. It is a fairly well-painted picture, and there is a good feeling of atmosphere in it, but it is not otherwise remarkable. No one, in looking at it, certainly, would think it was meant for a picture of the Holy Family, were it not that M. Verestchagin, in spite of his loudly heralded realism, has adopted the conventional type of head for his figure of Christ. Herein he renounces his realistic principles, and may be justly charged with sensationalism. Of the other pictures in this series there is little to be said, except that "The Prophecy," No. 49, and "Jesus in the Desert," No. 47, are strikingly suggestive of Claude Monet in the treatment of the landscape.

The largest picture in the exhibition is a huge canvas representing a procession through a street in Jeypore, with the Prince of Wales and his staff riding in company with the Maharajah and other native chiefs on the backs of elephants. It is called "The Future Emperor of India," and is much better done than show pictures of this sort are wont to be. There is decided ability of a certain order shown in the management of this panoramic canvas, and some very good painting in parts. It is needless to say it is theatrical; from the nature of the subject it could scarcely help being so. It will no doubt prove to be one of the most attractive features of this latest of picture shows, where the bass-drum accompaniment, though somewhat muffled, is yet loud enough to be offensive to delicate ears.

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